

The impact of immigration on Germany's society: the German contribution to the pilot research study "The impact of immigration on Europe's societies" within the framework of the European Migration Network

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Bundesamt
für Migration
und Flüchtlinge

The Impact of Immigration on Germany's Society

**The German Contribution to the Pilot Research Study
“The Impact of Immigration on Europe's Societies“
within the framework of the European Migration Network**

German National Contact Point



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Preface

The project 'European Migration Network' (EMN), which was initiated and is co-financed by the European Commission, will be in the initial phase until 2006. The project aims at providing the Community and the Member States with reliable and comparable information on the issues of migration and asylum in a concise form. The activities focus on the areas of research, analysis and documentation. In Germany, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) in Nuremberg participates as National Contact Point within the European Migration Network. In 2004, as part of this activity, the German contribution to the European pilot research study "The Impact of Immigration on Europe's societies" was compiled in co-operation with several partners in the national network of EMN.

The pilot study has three objectives:

1. to gain a better understanding of the impact migrants exert on society, politics and economy of the receiving countries;
2. to improve knowledge of the situation of migrants by comparative social research;
3. to identify strengths and weaknesses of the national and international co-operation in order to organise the further development of the network and its working structures more effectively.

The present publication "The Impact of Immigration on Germany's Society" provides an overview on the various spheres of life of migrant residents living in Germany, namely economy, culture and politics. The report is interdisciplinarily compiled and contains the state of the art of the relevant, recent scientific literature in Germany on these issues. The period under consideration finishes in 2004, which means that the legal changes following the Immigration Act becoming effective on January 1, 2005 as well as scientific literature published since then has not been considered any more.

The research study is based on analyses and contributions by

- Elvira Torlak, Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts Archiv (Hamburg Institute of International Economics) who wrote the chapter on economic issues,
- Veronika Vitt and Edda Currle, European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS) at the University of Bamberg who prepared the chapter on civil society and the cultural context,
- Dr Kathrin Prüm, Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD) at the University of Bielefeld, who wrote the chapter on the political context, and
- Dr Axel Kreienbrink, Susanne Worbs and PD Dr Peter Schimany, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, who provided the rest of the chapters and carried out the editorial workings.

We would like to thank the authors sincerely for their contribution and their co-operation.

Nuremberg, September 2005

Manfred Kohlmeier and Peter Schimany (editors)

Executive Summary

The expertise at hand outlines the impact of migration on German society. It provides a general overview on the state of the art of migration research in the fields of economy, culture and politics. It includes the most important results and points out the shortcomings of research. This expertise refers to the situation in Germany and is to provide – such as the national studies by the other contact points of the European Migration Network (EMN) - to the Member States of the EU compact and thoroughly-researched basic information on the political areas that are important for migration policies.

Following an introductory overview on shortcomings in research in the named fields (chapter 2), the immigration flows in Germany since the end of World War II are outlined (chapter 3). The various groups of immigrants (among them refugees and displaced persons, migrant workers, ethnic German repatriates and post-war repatriates, asylum seekers, foreign students, Jewish immigrants) as well as the recent political-legal developments are presented.

With regard to the impact of immigration on the German **economy** (chapter 4.1), the study firstly looks into the question of “tax contributions made versus social benefits received”. In sum, the existing studies indicate a positive fiscal impact of immigration which depends, however, on the migrants’ duration of stay and the legal regulations regarding their entitlement to social benefits. Furthermore, it is stated that the immigrants’ net contribution to the social security and welfare system helps to counteract the problems arising due to the continuous aging of the population.

The third question examined in the field of economy was as to what kind of effects immigration has on the employment situation among the autochthonous population. This is done by looking at the impact on the wage level in the low-wage sector as well as that of highly qualified employees. It turns out that, all in all, negative impacts on the wages of the autochthonous population do not exist, and that to some extent rather positive effects can be observed. Equally, only minor effects for employment can be noted which have a slightly positive tendency. Accordingly, immigration has caused an increase in jobs and therefore triggered stronger economic growth. Particularly regarding ethnic entrepreneurs, new jobs have been created and a specialised range of goods and services (food-groceries, restaurants) has developed. Another aspect in the presentation deals with the effects of immigration on national and international trade, in consideration of the fact that an increasing number of immigrants set up their own businesses and respectively do trading with their countries of origin. One can therefore assume an expanded trade volume as a consequence of immigration. Regarding the role of immigrants as consumers and savers, the findings are contradictory. On the one hand, an affinity for higher consumption can be observed, but, on the other hand, there is a higher savings ratio in order to remit money to the countries of origin. Finally, the labour market performance of immigrants is looked into. The cultural diversity, which frequently has been regarded as one of the main drawbacks of un

successful integration on the labour market so far, is increasingly considered to be an important advantage for the competitiveness of a national economy in the context of globalisation.

In view of the impact of immigration on the **cultural context** (chapter 4.2), the expertise firstly looks into organisations and associations in which migrants influence civil society. In Germany, cultural life is particularly shaped by religious organisations. As to whether their influence supports or hinders integration remains unclear though. In addition, manifold influences of immigration in the areas of sports, media, music, language, literature, film, fashion and the fine arts can be identified. However, it is difficult to isolate their influence from general globalisation impacts and they have been dealt with more journalistically rather than scientifically so far. A particularly striking influence of immigration in everyday life can be identified for food culture. It can be considered as the most important area with regard to convergence processes of the native population and the migrants. The German media landscape shows a great variety of newspapers and magazines published in foreign languages. In parallel to the print media, there are numerous cable and satellite programmes which broadcast radio and TV programmes in immigrants' mother tongues. As to the way migrants are presented in the German media, different tendencies can be observed which are positive and negative. In addition, a large number of authors of non-German origin reflect in their writings on their own migration experience and being foreign, as well as on their - often severed - relationship to their countries of origin. These works are usually published in German as well as in the respective mother tongue.

The section of the expertise dealing with the impacts of immigration in the **political context** (chapter 4.3) describes the influence exerted by the presence of immigrants and their participation in various political institutions and organisations. First it is shown that political organisations have only sporadically been in the focus of scientific research. The discourse on the conditions of political participation by immigrants is dominated by the fact of lacking political integration because of restrictive naturalisation regulations and the denial of the right to vote for foreigners. This is followed by a presentation of findings on the influence of migration on local administrations, trade unions and political parties. For local administrations, migration leads to a change of the organisation which depends on the previously existing structure of the organisation though. Regarding the trade unions it can be observed that immigration as an issue is on the decline. It is true that migrants have a high degree of organisation within the trade unions, but they are rarely represented in the organisational hierarchy of the trade unions. The changes of political parties and the establishment of migrant-specific structures can indeed be shown, but have only insufficiently been documented by research.

Much more detailed research has been carried out on the immigrants' self-organisation in associations and the political orientations of immigrants, though. Here, preferences for political parties can indeed be identified which correlate with groups of immigrants, but there are no significant differences concerning the voting behaviour between naturalised migrants and native

Germans. The connection between political participation and legal integration on the one hand, and the relationship to the receiving country and the country of origin on the other hand is ambivalently assessed. The findings on the degree and the orientation of forms of political participation result in a critical scrutiny of the existing participation model, in the development of alternative models and in political demands. Some of these drafts are introduced at the end of that section. As a result, it becomes apparent that political participation is possible in various forms without having the citizenship of the receiving country and that new forms of “post-national” membership have evolved. At the same time it is pointed out that there is a conflicting field of political legitimisation which might result from the long-term presence of a major number of non-members/non-voters.

A final overview (chapter 5) examines the structural determining factors of the integration of immigrants, such as the access to citizenship, to the labour market, to education and to vocational training as well as questions of housing conditions and segregation. Regarding the impact of immigration on Germany’s society, these factors can support or impede it as they shape the living conditions of migrants and therefore their opportunities to exert an influence. In chapter 6 conclusions are made regarding the data situation and the required research efforts in Germany.

1 Introduction

One important aim of the study in hand is to assess the available sources and analysed data as well as to point out the research deficits in the areas examined. This inventory will make it possible to identify issues that have been neglected by research so far and to focus on new topics of high relevance in future.

As an introduction to this study, comments on the analysed material and on the shortcomings in research in the three named fields are made (chapter 2). This is followed by an outline of the development of immigration flows since the mid 1950s (chapter 3). Subsequently, the impacts of immigration in the fields of economy, culture and politics are described in detail (chapter 4). In the next chapter, the structural determining factors of the integration of immigrants¹ are presented (chapter 5). Some concluding remarks (chapter 6) and a bibliography representing the state of the art in research until 2004 are completing the study.

¹ If for reasons of legibility only terms in the male linguistic gender are used (immigrant, migrant), this does also include females.

2 Research deficits

In Germany, all areas examined here (economy, culture and politics) show research deficits to a greater or lesser extent. As an introduction, a recapitulating overview on the desiderata of research which have emerged from the following sections² shall be provided here.

2.1 Research deficits in the field of economy

Deficits in the economic research on migration can be identified in data technology as well as on the level of contents. The availability and quality of the data is unsatisfactory on the macro- as well as on the micro-economic level. In addition, there have been no or only limited links between the state of the art in research on the micro level (e.g. the vocational qualification and labour market integration of immigrants) and macro-economic dimensions (e.g. growth and human capital).

Statistics on the number, the origin and the residence status of migrants are mostly not available in a longitudinal perspective, have distinguishing problems (depending on the legal status of the immigrants) and may not be adequately disaggregated because of data protection regulations. The problem of data protection especially arises for small immigrant groups. This makes it rather difficult to carry out regional studies and surveys with a micro-economic approach. Furthermore, there is a lack of qualitative-empirical interviews, gathering information on motivation, quality of life, networks and integration processes of migrants. The increasing mobility of immigrants (migration to another country, temporary sojourn or movement within the country of destination) and their relatively low percentage of the total population make panel studies difficult. Finally - irrespective of the problems in data collection – there is nearly no data available on the interrelation of illegal migration and employment (as well as trafficking in women and children). This is also true for remittances, as a large portion of the capital transferred is not shown in payment balances. In these cases, the unofficial channels are to be identified and, if possible, quantified. In general, it can be stated that indicators about immigrants and ethnic minorities are underrepresented in official statistics.

The control of labour migration and the assessment and promotion of vocational integration needs reliable and empirically verifiable information on social networks of immigrants as well as on structures and functions of migrant communities. The appropriate indicators, such as determinants of mobility, social capital and social relationships, are quite difficult to be measured, though. Here, a need for further theoretical and empirical research exists. An analysis of contents requires methodological progress in data collection. There is also very few data available on “ethnic entrepreneurship” and its impacts. Due to more recent research, however, the gap in

information is increasingly closed (cf. chapter 4.1.5). In sum, one can state that a good deal of the deficits in the economic field of migration research could be solved by intensifying research and data collection (by means of interviews). This would also open new subject areas. This also applies to administrative and official statistics.

2.2 Research deficits in the field of culture

Despite the fact that issues of migration research have been extended and deepened during the last years, there is still need for further research on the theoretical and empirical level for the area of culture and civil society. Here, the general problem arises as to whether and how cultural influences in Germany can be analytically distinguished from aspects of globalisation and internationalisation of culture (markets).

Considering the various aspects of this area, the issue of religion as an important aspect of society and culture is particularly difficult to be approached empirically: It is true that the attention on Muslim life has been on the increase since the events of September 11, 2001, which can also be seen in the considerable rise of scientific publications on Islamic communities, building of mosques or attitudes of Muslim immigrants. Also the effects on Jewish communities as a result of immigration flows from Eastern Europe have rudimentally been analysed. However, there is no comprehensive research on the influence of religious communities which might also serve as a basis for conclusions on the changes occurring in the existing Christian communities because of immigrants.

On the impact of immigration on the cultural life in Germany in the areas of film, music, literature, fine arts and fashion, only sporadic research results are available. Although the subject music by migrants is taken notice of, it is rather dealt with journalistically or in popular science. The same is true for the areas of film and literature: There is a lack of data as well as of empirically founded studies which might provide answers to the question as to the potential impact migrants have indeed exercised on the cultural landscape in these areas and how this impact is perceived by society. There are also no scientific studies on the influence of fine arts and fashion. The presence of cultural contributions by migrants in local culture has also not been researched so far. There are some individual studies in this field, however, there is no comprehensive, scientifically founded assessment.

² For references please see the respective sections in chapter 4.

2.3 Research deficits in the field of politics

Within German political science, migration has been a marginal field of research for quite a long time and only very few scientists have worked on it. Migration research focused particularly on the social situation and the organisational and institutional integration of immigrants. The changes of organisations because of migration is primarily a topic that was the subject of research with regard to individual organisations in the 1980s and the early 1990s, but which has not been researched systematically. The attention was mainly on organisations such as trade unions which made the working conditions of migrants an issue. Political organisations, such as political parties however, which did not have an immediate effect on the migrants' living conditions, were only a minor topic in research. Only very recently the political behaviour of naturalised migrants in particular has been studied. For this research, however, the specific problem of how to systematically collect data on naturalised people arises. It is true that the issues of civil-societal identity and post-national memberships are being thoroughly discussed in research, but migration and migrants have not played any explicit role in these discourses.

3 The history of migration to Germany and its development

3.1 Developments from the 1950s onwards

As a consequence of flight in the final stage of World War II and due to displacements and deportations after the end of the war, some eight million refugees and people displaced because of the war arrived in the Western occupied zones and some 3.6 million people in the Soviet occupied eastern part of Germany in the period of 1945 until 1949. The years after the set up of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) saw massive migration movements from East to West Germany, with the consequence that in the period to follow until the building of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 some 3.5 million people crossed the German-German border to settle in the west (Münz 1997: 37). Migration movements in the opposite direction had much less quantitative proportions, though (Schmelz 2002).

The economic boom of the post-war era, the western German “economic miracle“, resulted in an increased need for labour. Certain areas of the labour market began to show signs of short supply already in the 1950s. In addition, the building of the Berlin Wall stopped a considerable influx of labour in 1961 (Heidemeyer 1994). As a reaction to the labour shortage, the Federal Republic of Germany started recruiting foreign “guest workers“. The first labour recruitment agreement was closed with Italy in the year 1955. Further agreements followed with Greece, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia between 1960 and 1968 (Steinert 1995: 239-310). The planned rotation principle, which foresaw that the individual guest worker would only stay in Germany for a certain limited period of time and then return to be substituted by another foreign worker, was not continued in practice for long. After the recruitment of foreigners coming from countries outside of the ECC had been stopped in November 1973 as a reaction to the oil crisis, many workers recruited before still remained in the country and began bringing their family dependents to Germany. At the time when recruitment was stopped some four million foreign nationals were already living in western Germany, whose number was to increase in the years to follow. Between 1961 and 1973, the number of foreign labour increased from 550,000 to 2.6 million. In total, some 14 million foreign workers came to Germany during that period, of whom about 11 million left the country again. In 1989, the number of the foreign resident population in the Federal Republic amounted to almost 4.9 million (Dohse 1981; Schönwälder 2001; Sonnenberger 2003).

The GDR also started recruiting “foreign workers“ for some years of sojourn on the basis of bilateral agreements starting from the mid 1960s, although to a much lesser extent. First, they mostly came from the European member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, later also from Algeria, Cuba, Mozambique, Viet Nam, Mongolia, Angola and China (Gruner-Domić 1999; Kuck 2003).

Apart from the immigration of foreign workers there has also been another continuous migration inflow to Germany since the early 1950s: the one of the (post-war) ethnic German repatriates³ and their family dependents (Bade/Oltmer 1999). They are persons of German ethnicity who were allowed to emigrate after the expulsion measures from the former Eastern bloc countries and settle in the Federal Republic of Germany on grounds of bilateral agreements and in application of Art. 116 *Grundgesetz* (German Basic Law). More than four million (post-war) ethnic German repatriates have come to the Federal Republic of Germany since 1950, the majority of them however as late as after the beginning of the Perestroika/Glasnost policy in the Soviet Union and the ensuing end of the east-west conflict in 1989. So following flight and deportation as well as labour migration, this constitutes the third largest immigration inflow. Nearly all these immigrants meanwhile come from the former Soviet Union, whereas other countries of origin, such as Romania, Poland or Hungary have become completely negligible since the 1990s. With the *Kriegsfolgenbereinigungsgesetz* (Law on Resolving Long-term Effects of World War II) of 1993, the immigration inflow of post-war ethnic German repatriates to the Federal Republic of Germany was limited by an annual quota of 225,000, since 2000 the quota has been curbed to some 103,000 annual immigrants. The actual number of new immigrants has considerably dropped in the meantime: In the year 2003 the number amounted to almost 73,000 and in 2004 to some 59,000⁴.

Since the early 1950s there has also been a registration of the influx of asylum seekers to the Federal Republic of Germany, who come on the basis of Article 16a Basic Law which grants protection to persons who are politically persecuted in the country of origin. The reason for including this article into the German Constitution was the experience of politically persecuted people during the National Socialism. Until the early 1980s, asylum immigration could be quantitatively neglected and was predominantly from countries of the former Eastern bloc. After the number of asylum applications had been very fluctuating in the 1980s, it started rising continuously from 1988 (103,000), until it reached its absolute peak with some 438,000 applications for asylum in the year 1992⁵. The reason for this was the crisis in the former eastern bloc which resulted in a considerable change of the applicants' countries of origin who mainly used to come from Third World countries. The change of the German Basic Law and the Asylum Proceedings Act on grounds of the so-called "asylum compromise" in December 1992, which had an impact on asylum applicants who came from persecution-free countries and via secure third countries, resulted in a dramatic drop in the number of asylum seekers. Since 1998, the number of first applications for asylum has been below 100,000 and in the year 2004 it was as low as approxi

³ Those who came before January 1, 1993 are called repatriates (*Aussiedler*), all migrants who came after this date are called post-war repatriates (*Spät-Aussiedler*).

⁴ On a small scale there has also been an immigration influx of persons with German nationality to the GDR (Hirscher-Horáková 2003).

⁵ For more information on the development of the asylum application numbers:

mately 36,000. In the 1990s, Germany granted protection to some 345,000 civil war refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and, since 1999, to about 195,000 refugees from the Kosovo. Most of them, however, have already returned to their home countries in the meantime (Herbert 2003: 263-273, 296-322).⁶

Two more groups whose immigration has been a feature in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany for already some time are foreign students and EU internal migrants. Among the foreign students (Jensen 2001), particularly the so-called educational foreigners are of some interest, who have acquired their graduation enabling them to access to higher education abroad and come to study at a Germany institution of higher education (their sojourn might be of just one semester or for the whole time of their academic studies). Because of the internationalisation of education and the appropriate exchange programmes the number of educational foreigners in Germany has continuously increased since the 1990s. In the winter semester of 2003/2004 about 180,000 educational foreigners were registered in higher education, among them around 42,000 students who started their academic studies.

From 1968, citizens of other EU Member States have been gradually granted freedom of movement, which applies to employees and their family dependents as well as to other persons whose sojourn is not primarily for economic reasons (e. g. students or retired persons). In the period from 1991 until 2003 more than 1.7 million EU citizens moved to Germany, while at the same time more than 1.6 million people left the country. Apart from the former “guest workers” from EU Member States who have been living in Germany for a long time, the EU internal migration has therefore quantitatively no considerable impact yet.

Since the 1990s, there also has been immigration by Jewish emigrants from the states of the former Soviet Union. Since 1991, following a resolution by the GDR *Volkskammer* adopted in 1990, Jewish immigrants are admitted (on grounds of the resolution passed by the *Minister Presidents* of the German *Bundeslander*) pursuant to the Act on Quota Refugees, depending on the admission capacity of the federal states. The admission proceedings are carried out in co-operation with the German diplomatic missions in the former Soviet republics and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in Nuremberg. In the period from January 1991 to December 2004, some 219,000 applicants entered the Federal Republic of Germany undergoing the orderly proceedings. It is because of this immigration that Germany has now the third largest Jewish community in Europe, after France and the U.K. (Mertens 1993; Harris 1999; Weiss 2002).

http://www.bamf.de/template/index_statistik.htm.

⁶ The possibility of granting asylum has also existed in the Constitution of the GDR, but this has basically been a politically arbitrary decision. The quantitative proportions of granted asylum were negligible (Poutrus 2004).

Starting from the post-war era until 1999, there had been considerable immigration into, but also emigration from (Nerger-Focke 1995; Freund 2004) the former territory of the Federal Republic of Germany: about 30 million people immigrated since 1960, but also 21 million people left (Beauftragte 2001: 5). Nevertheless, the official understanding had been until that point of time that German is not a country of immigration. This attitude could, among others, also be seen in the relatively low number of naturalisations of foreigners and the quite large share of foreigners. Thus, with the reform of the Nationality Act in the year 2000, a paradigmatic changing process in German migration and integration policy has set off (Meier-Braun 2002: 93-140; Angenendt/Kruse 2003).

3.2 Developments since the year 2000

One of the first reform projects by the Federal Government, which was newly elected in 1998, was the reform of the nationality law. On January 1, 2000, the new Nationality Law entered legal force which introduced elements of the *ius soli* for foreign children born in Germany for the first time. The law also brought new regulations for adult foreigners by reforming the old ones: among others a reduction of the necessary time of sojourn and the introduction of a language test in the naturalisation proceeding. This change in law was the first step to solve a problem in the legal integration of immigrants to Germany which had already become obvious for quite a considerable time (Hailbronner 2001).

This was followed by the Green Card Initiative of the Federal Chancellor Mr. Schröder on March 3, 2000 which was to make employment of high-qualified foreign IT skilled workers in Germany possible. The underlying administrative order entered legal force on August 1, 2000. The result of the subsequent public discourse leading to the surrender of the conception "Germany is not an immigration country" and the understanding that "Germany needs immigration" may be seen as a paradigmatic change in German migration policy. The establishment of the Independent Commission "Immigration" by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Mr. Otto Schily, on September 12, 2000 was eventually the crucial initiative for the progressive technical and political discussion about this very complex and sensitive social-political issue.

The Commission submitted its report in July 2001, which thoroughly analysed immigration and integration of migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. Based on it the draft for an Immigration Law was worked out in the same year, ruling among others a point system for the selection of new immigrants (Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001). The act entered legal force on July 1, 2002, however, it was annulled by the German Federal Constitutional Court in December of the same year because of a formal defect. Following this, the Federal Government submitted the bill again in the legislative proceeding without changing anything. This was followed by cumbersome negotiations with the Opposition during which the point system was

given up and security issues – against the background of the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 in the U.S. – became more important than during the first negotiations. The German *Bundestag* (parliament) and *Bundesrat* (representation of the *Bundesländer*) finally passed the modified Immigration Law in July 2004 and the act entered legal force on January 1, 2005. A crucial institutional change already took place in the year 2004, namely the definite reorganisation of the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees into a central authority for migration and integration. At the “Federal Office for Migration and Refugees” many specific tasks for controlling migration and integration are centralised, which is an absolute novelty in the post-war history of Germany. In addition, an Expert Council for Migration and Integration (Immigration Council) was established in 2003, also presenting an expert report on migration and integration at the end of 2004 (Sachverständigenrat 2004).⁷

The immigration of foreign IT skilled workers on grounds of the Green-Card regulation from the year 2000 constitutes a new kind of “elite immigration” to Germany (Kolb 2004; cf. chapter 4.1.4). Pursuant to the Immigration Law, other self-employed entrepreneurs and high-qualified employees outside the IT branch can also immigrate. Additionally, there are still the same forms of migration movements, as mentioned above (cf. chapter 3.1). Adding to this, there is illegal immigration of unknown quantitative proportions (Schönwälder et al. 2004). Concerning the EU internal migration, it remains to be seen which impacts the joining of the ten new members on May 1, 2004 will create. The 74.5 million citizens of the new Member States, however, are subject to transitional regulations up to seven years, until the employees will be granted unlimited freedom of movement.

⁷ The Federal Ministry of the Interior annulled the decree of April 2, 2003 which established the Immigration Council, on December 22, 2004 with effect on December 31, 2004.

4 The impact of immigration on German society

4.1 The economy

4.1.1 *Taxes, pensions and impact on the welfare system*

Negative sentiments towards immigrants, which have been evident in most industrialised countries during the last decade, are often expressed as fears that immigrants adversely affect the economic welfare of the native population. Immigrants are often perceived as a burden for the public budget as they allegedly pay less tax and contributions, on the one hand, but claim more benefits and disproportionately consume Government-provided goods and services, on the other hand. Additionally, the potentially positive indirect fiscal effects of immigration through macro-economic and labour market impacts, that alter the level and growth of GDP and the returns to, and employment of native labour and capital, are even more difficult to convey to the broad public. Relevant literature in economics provides little support for such resentment towards immigrants. Most of the empirical studies, especially those for the U.S. and the UK, suggest that immigrants make a positive net contribution to the welfare system in these economies (see e.g. Lalonde/Topel 1997, Smith/Edmonson 1997 for the U.S.; Gott/Johnston 2002 for the U.K.).

Empirical studies for Germany focus foremost on direct fiscal effects of immigration. Using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel for 1984, Ulrich (1994) estimated tax paid and welfare benefits received by Germans and immigrants. In spite of the fact that immigrants paid less tax than Germans, on balance, their fiscal impact on the German public budget was positive in 1984. This can be attributed to immigrants' high net contribution to the pension system. At the same time, immigrants draw disproportionately on unemployment, social security and child benefits.

In a study on the broader economic impact of immigration, Loeffelholz and Kopp (1998) estimated the indirect fiscal effect of immigrants. Using macro-data on incomes, employment, education and other relevant socio-economic characteristics, they find that immigrants make a net contribution to the public budget of 25 to 35 billion German Marks per annum. Furthermore, the study finds that, since 1988, immigration has created 85,000 new jobs and raised GDP growth rate by 1.3 per cent.

These results provide a one-off snapshot of the fiscal impact of the current cross-section of migrants. The calculations do not include, consequently, the consumption of public goods and services on the transfer side and ignore changing patterns of contributions and transfers to migrants due to the changing age structure. Sinn et al. (2001) tried to overcome this drawback and assessed the net fiscal impact of immigration to Germany under the assumption of varying transfers and contributions by migrants in their life-cycle. In their calculations they do not only take into account current, but also deferred benefits on the transfer side, as in the case of pen

sion and care insurance. Results indicate that immigrants are net contributors to pension and care insurance systems, and a burden on health and unemployment insurance schemes. In contrast to other studies, this study by Sinn et al. finds that the net impact of immigrants on the German welfare system was negative in 1997. Only immigrants who had lived in Germany for more than 25 years contributed with 1,670 German marks per capita more to the welfare system than they were drawing out. The authors interpret these results as evidence for the assimilation hypothesis which predicts that welfare dependency declines with the increasing duration of stay of migrant households.⁸

Still, as suggested by Bonin (2002), these results should be interpreted with caution: firstly, the calculation of future transfers as a net present value underestimates the contributions of immigrants and secondly, the estimates take into account the full value of public transfers but only 70 per cent of tax paid. On the basis of a complete balance of life-cycle of tax paid and transfers received by Germans and immigrants, and accounting for the marginal costs of providing public goods, Bonin shows that immigration has a positive impact on the inter-temporal public budget. Furthermore, he suggests that immigration might substantially reduce the burden of increase in individual net fiscal contributions required to keep the current fiscal system in Germany solvent. This touches on another hot issue in the debate on immigration policies in developed countries.

Similar to other industrialised countries, Germany is facing the problem of an aging population. Rising age ratios and dependency ratios (number of economically inactive people per 100 persons of economically active age) put pressure on welfare systems, threatening to break out in a real pension crisis. The dependency ratio for Germans was 41.9 in 1998, and is expected to climb up to 107.7 by 2050. Due to their younger age structure, it is expected that immigrants might supplement negative labour force growth and hence lower the dependency ratio as well as providing semi-skilled labour to care for an aging population (c.f. United Nations 2000 and 2002). The effectiveness of using migration to forestall a rise in the dependency ratio in the long run has not been established (DeVoretz 2004). Even with a net immigration of 250,000 per year, the German population is estimated to shrink to 66,1 million in 2050 and 50 million in 2100 from a current population of around 82 million (Birg 2000). The dependency ratio of immigrants is expected to rise too, from 10 in 1998 to 56.9 in 2050. After they reach pensionable age, immigrants will become an additional burden on the pension system. Riphahn (1998) found that the share of foreigners among welfare recipients increased from 8.3 per cent in 1980 to 23.5 per cent in 1996, while the share of foreigners in the population increased only slightly in the same period – from 7.2 to 8.9 per cent. Apart from this, as Birg (2000) points out, fertility rates by migrants, although much higher than for Germans, are still below the 2.1 children per woman needed to keep the current German population constant. Hence, we can conclude that immi

⁸ This is in compliance with the findings of other studies, e.g. Riphahn, 1998, Fertig/Schmidt 2001.

gration can indeed mitigate the problem of ageing populations but cannot compensate completely for other policies and measures needed to combat demographic developments.

Not only the individual characteristics of migrants, but also legal regulations on immigrants' entitlement to welfare transfers and their obligations to pay tax and contributions determine the impact of immigration on the welfare system of migrants' destination countries. The welfare usage of migrants who came to Germany for humanitarian reasons (asylum seekers) is well above that of other immigrants. In addition, the fiscal impact is likely to be negative in this group as they are not allowed to work, as opposed to other immigrants, and therefore cannot make full use of their skills and experience (Glover et al. 2001). More recent studies emphasise successful labour market integration as the decisive determinant of the fiscal impact of immigrants (Bauer 2002; Bonin 2002).

More generally, there are also concerns that immigration could be precipitating the erosion of European welfare systems. Fears that immigrants and asylum seekers are "country shopping" for the best standard of welfare, has generated proposals to harmonise welfare systems, in order to avoid a race-to-the-bottom in social insurance and the erosion of European welfare systems (Sinn 2002).

4.1.2 *Immigrants and the labour market*

The effects of globalisation on the labour market in European countries have become a major issue of public debate. The concern is that either jobs will be exported to low wage countries, or that immigrants will replace domestic workers in the destination country or depress local wages (DeVoretz 2004). Trade theory suggests that the mobility of factors of production reduces returns to the factor that is imported, and increases returns to other factors. Therefore, high-skilled migrants, for instance, should reduce salaries for high-skilled labour (as the offer of high-skilled labour is now more plentiful) and increase returns to capital and low-skilled workers. A major topic in the discussion on the impact of immigration on labour markets is the issue whether natives and foreigners are substitutes or whether foreign workers complement Germans in production.

Empirical studies on the wage effects of immigration did not support the hypothesis that native workers are strongly and adversely affected by immigration.⁹ Compared to studies for the United States, the empirical evidence for the European labour markets is relatively scarce and not as clear cut (for an overview on studies for Germany c.f. Bauer and Zimmermann 1999). The overwhelming majority of empirical studies conclude that the wage effects of immigration are non-existent or negligible and, in some cases, even positive. In fact, most of the studies for

⁹ For an overview on studies for the U.S. c.f. Borjas (1994).

Germany find a positive overall impact of immigration on native wages. Yet, given the fact that most immigrants to Germany are low-skilled workers, empirical results do suggest that native blue-collar workers lose out with immigration, in terms of lower wages and higher unemployment. DeNew and Zimmermann (1994a) find that a 1 % increase in the employment share of guest workers decreases hourly wages of native blue-collar workers by 0.45 %, while the wages of white-collar workers increased by 0.12 %. Another study by DeNew and Zimmermann (1994b) finds a fall in wages of low-skilled native workers of 0.16 % due to a 1 % increase in the employment share of guest workers. Further disaggregation of low-skilled workers showed that native blue-collar workers with more than 20 years of labour market experience are less affected by immigration, as they can not be easily substituted by immigrants (Haisken-DeNew/Zimmermann 1995). Using an earnings function approach and looking at changes in wage levels and at the number of foreigners in relation to the entire local population, Pischke and Velling (1997) find a positive and significant wage effect of immigration. Using a similar model, Hatzius (1994) finds that foreign guest workers have a substantial negative impact on the earnings of natives, while ethnic German immigration from Eastern Europe is unrelated to native earnings. In the context of the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, Sinn et al. (2001) predict particularly strong pressures on wages and employment of low-skilled workers in manufacturing and construction.

Several factors may explain the small effect of immigration on wages that can be found in empirical studies. Firstly, most of the studies do not account for so-called “spatial correlations”, meaning that immigrants may not be randomly distributed across labour markets, but tend to concentrate in better performing geographical areas. On the other hand, natives may respond to migration by relocating and, by doing so, disperse possible wage depression or labour market displacement impacts around the country. Secondly, as suggested by Zimmermann (1995), foreign workers might indeed complement domestic labour, thereby increasing the productivity of natives, creating extra demand for goods and services and helping to erode institutional constraints such as trade unions. Thirdly, a rigid labour market and binding wage floors might prevent natives’ wages from falling. Where minimum wages or social security levels exist, more immigration would lead to higher unemployment of natives. Still, similar to the findings on the impact of immigration on wages, empirical evidence on employment effects indicates that immigration only has a modest impact on employment. In particular those studies from Germany, which analysed the economic boom period of the 1980s, found a positive correlation between immigration and employment (see e.g. Mühleisen/Zimmermann 1994; Gang/Rivera-Batiz 1994; Pischke/Velling 1997). Other studies found a negative, but very small impact of immigration on regional unemployment rates (Winkelmann/Zimmermann 1994; Velling 1995).

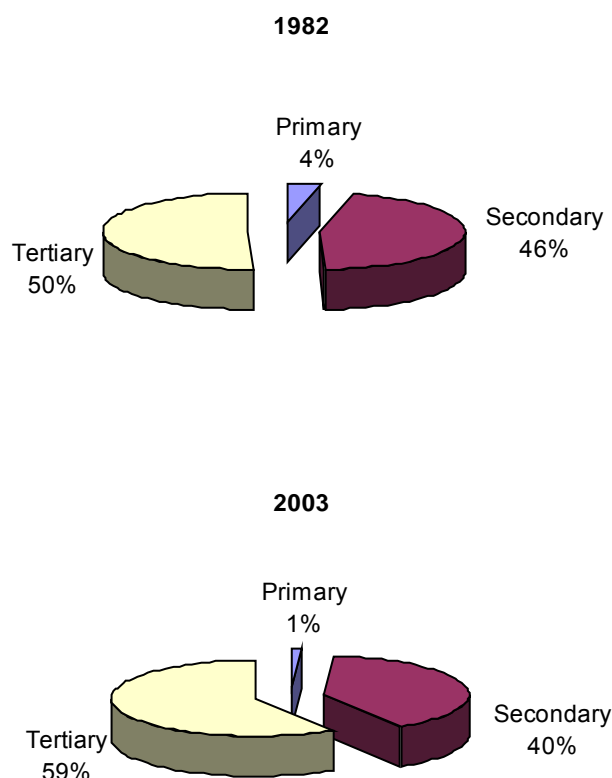
In general, fewer doubts are expressed about immigration during periods of rigorous economic growth. Germany from the 1960s to the 1970s is one of the most striking examples. Without the

employment of young, motivated guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s economic growth would not have been possible at the same pace – at least not without much higher rates of inflation and/or moving production abroad (Stalker 2000). Even during the years when active recruitment was halted, it was argued that an increase in employment in Germany of about 3 million from 1983 to 1991 would not have been possible without immigration, and that GDP would have risen far less (Mehrländer 1994). Following calculations using the econometric business cycle model by the Institute for Economic Research (RWI) in Essen, Germany, GNP was in 1992 almost 6 % higher than it would have been without immigration. The average rate of growth of GNP in the period from 1988 to 1992 was 3.5 % per annum with immigration, and about 2 % without. Employing 1.4 million immigrants on average in 1992 (4.8 per cent of the total employed) created an additional 90,000 jobs. The initial strain on the labour market turned into its opposite: without immigration, the rate of unemployment would have been 0.2 per cent higher in 1992, which is equivalent to an increase of about 60,000 unemployed. The stronger economic growth resulting from immigration meant correspondingly higher incomes. Employers' incomes in 1992 were almost 10 % higher than they would have been without immigration, while employees' incomes increased by approx. 5 %. The average per capita income, however, remained almost unchanged (Gieseck et al. 1995).

4.1.3 *Impacts of immigration on specific economic sectors*

Overall, migrants have little aggregate effect on native wages and employment, though they can have more of an effect on different subgroups of natives. It is of substantial importance for the evaluation of the effects of immigration to know in which industries migrants work. As Figure 1 shows, in 2003 almost 60 % of immigrants were employed in the tertiary sector. A high percentage was also employed in manufacturing and construction. Over the past 20 years, there is a shift in sectoral distribution of migrant employees towards the tertiary sector. Since 1997 more immigrants have been working in service industries than in the manufacturing sector (Daten-dienst Migration 2004). Low shares of immigrants in high-skill services (e.g. credit and insurance services, education) indicate that foreigners take jobs that request lower qualification levels (e.g. catering, laundry and cleaning services) (van Suntum/Schlotböller 2002).

Figure 1: Sectoral distribution of foreign workers in Germany



Source: Own calculations, based on Datendienst Migration 2004.

4.1.4 Highly qualified immigrants

In the long run, the contribution of highly qualified immigrants to a society's stock of useful knowledge is the most important economic effect of immigrants. Starting with the seminal works by Paul Romer (1986, 1987 and 1990) and Robert Lucas (1988), the immigration of skilled migrants has been evaluated as stimulating the dynamics of economic growth. According to the "new growth theory", "a cumulative human capital produces positive knowledge externalities that spill over the economy in which they occur and, thus, countries which have high levels of human capital grow more quickly" (Straubhaar 2000). Saxenian (2002) has shown that, indeed, the positive externalities associated with skilled migration go beyond the economics of market prices, labour, and capital, and are reflected more in increased technological and entrepreneurship networks in, and between the sending and the receiving countries.

More recent studies on economic benefits from immigration distinguish between the impact of skilled and unskilled migrants on their destination countries (see e.g. Hamermesh 1993; Borjas

1995, Levine et al. 2003). In the context of the EU enlargement Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) find that a 1 per cent increase in EU employment results in a total gain of 0.64 % of EU GDP in the case of the immigration of manual workers, and 0.75 % of EU GDP in the case of the immigration of high-skilled migrants. Simulations for Germany suggest a gain of 0.77 % of GDP in 1993, in the case of a 1 % increase in labour force through migration of highly qualified Central and Eastern Europeans.

The main argument by the opponents of the immigration of the highly qualified is the possibility that entry of foreign-born scientists and engineers might reduce salaries for native engineers and scientists (North 1995). Furthermore, it is believed that the use of foreign skills might crowd out native students from the best schools and provide less incentive to train natives (Gover/Hurray 1998; Regets 2001). Therefore, while the benefits of scientists' immigration are distributed widely in a society, the costs are borne by a small group, namely native scientists (Freeman 1997). This might, in turn, reduce the incentives for natives to seek higher skills. Empirical evidence for the U.S. provides no support for such anti-immigration arguments (Regets 1997).

Whatever the arguments for and against highly qualified migrants might be, the major immigration countries such as the U.S., Canada and Australia are competing for these immigrants (Cobb-Clark/Connolly 1997). In summer 2000, the German government, on the initiative of the industrial association BITKOM, started the so-called "green card" programme, aimed at allowing IT specialists from non-EU Member States to work in Germany. The card authorised the holder to an unrestricted employment permit and allowed his family to stay in Germany for up to 5 years. In spite of initial claims of 75,000 vacant jobs for computer programmers and engineers, German employers have not requested as many green cards as expected: in the first three years of the programme, an estimated 15,000 IT-specialists took Germany up on its offer, mostly specialists from India and Eastern Europe. The burst of the IT bubble and the overall economic slowdown in the past few years affected green card holders, too. In a wave of bankruptcies and lay-offs, many lost their jobs. In Munich, a city with a heavy concentration of technology companies, one in seven green card holders became unemployed (Schreyer/Gebhardt 2003).

In spite of current estimates that there are massive shortages of high skilled labour on the EU and the German labour markets (see e.g. Booz Allen Hamilton 1998; RWI 2000), thousands of German "green cards" are still available. Possible explanations for this might be:

- reluctance of German employers to hire foreigners with a poor knowledge of the German language;
- negative sentiment toward immigrants in general;
- the limitation of green cards to IT specialists;

- total stay limited to five years and perceptions of right-wing extremism deter potential immigrants from entering Germany (Welsch 2001);
- better offers from other immigration countries (U.S., Canada, Australia, U.K., etc.).

4.1.5 *Immigrants as ethnic entrepreneurs*

For a long time immigrants to advanced economies were viewed as “workers” who were predominantly depicted as suppliers of cheap low-skilled labour. More recently, attention has shifted toward immigrants who start their own businesses. Self-employed or immigrant entrepreneurs have set up shop all over the western world and shaped the cosmopolitan look of many advanced economies (Kloostermann/Rath 2003). Self-employment by immigrants provides important socio-economic benefits for those directly involved in this process, as well as to the broader immigrant community and the immigrant’s host country.

Firstly, by starting their own businesses, immigrant entrepreneurs create their own jobs. This enables them to circumvent some of the barriers they may encounter in looking for a job, such as lack of or non-recognition of qualifications, a poor knowledge of the language, and insufficient access to relevant social networks or simply discrimination by local employers.

Secondly, if they are successful, immigrant businesses can create jobs for other immigrants and native labour. In 1999 there were over 263,000 self-employed foreigners in Germany who were estimated to be responsible for the creation of some 780,000 jobs (Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001). This figure has more than doubled in the decade since 1987 (Beauftragte 2000). A survey of 427 immigrant businesses in Hamburg found that, on average, 31 per cent of employees are family members. Furthermore, the majority of ethnic entrepreneurs claimed to employ mostly their co-ethnics (Burgbacher 2004). The Centre for Turkish Studies reports that the total investment volume of Turkish businesses was about 7.8 billion German Marks in 1992 and total revenue was around 28 billion German Marks annually (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1992).

Thirdly, very often immigrant businesses provide goods and services that native entrepreneurs are not very likely to offer. There are two reasons for this: firstly, immigrant entrepreneurs may have expert knowledge on specific demand or specific sources of supply relating to foreign products; and, long hours of hard work at low pay may keep native entrepreneurs out of certain lines of business. Migrant entrepreneurs may thus broaden the range of goods and services in a country, hence expanding consumer choice. In an indirect way, this may benefit native entrepreneurs as they may focus more on activities where they have their specific comparative advantages (The Economist 2002).

From a geographical perspective, migrant entrepreneurs can add vitality to streets and run-down neighbourhoods in cities. As owners of local businesses they have a clear stake in the prosperity, accessibility and safety of the street and the neighbourhood. Analogously, immigrant entrepreneurs may be instrumental in giving certain sectors a new lease of life (Sassen 2001).

Immigrant entrepreneurial endeavours in Germany are concentrated on food-groceries and restaurants. In fact, 28 per cent of all restaurant owners (55,000) registered in Germany in 1992 were foreigners (Loeffelholz et al. 1994). This high share of foreign ownership indicates that restaurants are serving German clientele, too. The Turkish speciality, Döner Kebab, invented in Berlin, has been shown to have a greater financial turn-over than the major competitors McDonalds or Burger King (Seidel-Pielen 1996). The second most important economic activity of immigrants is in retail: foods, grocery stores, vegetable stands, etc. Almost 20 per cent of all self-employed foreigners operate such retail stores (43,000). Foreign businesses are also present in manufacturing (7.5 per cent) and construction (5.5 per cent) (Wilpert 2003). Foreign ownership in more lucrative and skills-intensive sectors has up to now been restricted by local requirements of a certain level of professional certification (*Meisterbrief*). Still, as Goldberg and Sen (1997) report, the share of foreigners in those sectors has also been rising, which they explain as being due to the fact that young foreigners educated in Germany are beginning to enter these niche markets.

From the perspective of the size of the immigrant community, trends indicate that the resident foreign population with the greatest potential for self-employment in the future is of Turkish origin. Despite the visibility of persons originating from Turkey as immigrant entrepreneurs, Turks have at present much a lower rate of self-employment (5 per cent) than the smaller communities of Greeks (18.8 per cent) and Italians (13.5 per cent). It is very likely that a more rigorous treatment of non-EU foreigners with respect to access to self-employment has caused the delay in the development of entrepreneurship among Turks. Nevertheless, self-employment among Turks and Germans has been growing through the 1990s, in contrast to other ethnic groups. It has been extrapolated that, if such trend continues, the self-employment rate among Turks will reach 9 per cent in 2010. The size of the potential clientele among Turks in Germany would support the view that Turkish entrepreneurship will continue to grow (Goldberg/Sen 1997).

4.1.6 *Impact of immigration on exports and imports*

Although international trade has increased relative to world GDP in the post-war era, cross-border trade flows remain at much lower levels than those that would prevail in a fully integrated world economy. With the dismantling of most formal barriers to international trade, transaction and transportation costs emerge as the principal explanation of why trade remains largely within national borders. If transaction costs inhibit international trading activity, immigrants may serve

a role as trade intermediaries. Literature in economics suggests that immigrants influence bilateral trade flows through two basic channels:

- Firstly, immigrants bring with them preferences for home-country products that create a demand for particular varieties of foreign products. This effect is likely to be larger, to the extent that products are differentiated and immigrant communities are relatively large (Rauch/Trinidade 1999).
- Secondly, immigrants may reduce transaction costs of the bilateral trade with their home countries. They possess knowledge of local customs, laws, language and business practices. By virtue of links to their home countries, they may realize lower costs associated with foreign trade and thereby be more likely to trade than non-immigrants.

Empirical studies that explore the link between immigration and international trade were conducted only recently. Their results show a positive correlation between migration and trade with immigrants' home countries (see e.g. Gould 1994 and Dunlevy/Hutchinson 1999 for the U.S.; Head/Ries 1997 for Canada). Some evidence for European countries has been provided recently by Girma and Yu (2002) for the U.K. and Blanes Cristóbal (2004) for Spain. Girma and Yu find support for the idea that immigrants enhance the bilateral trade between Britain and their home countries through the knowledge about their home countries' markets and different social institutions, rather than business connections or personal contacts with their home countries. Using the same methodology, Blanes Cristóbal finds similar results for Spain. A 10 % increase in immigrant stock contributes to a 2.3 % increase in Spanish exports. Surprisingly, there is no evidence for a positive impact on imports. Both studies suggest that reducing transaction costs is of non-individual character, but is due to more knowledge, brought by immigrants as group, about foreign markets and different social institutions. This implies that the bigger cultural differences between immigrants and natives, the larger the impact of immigration on structure and volume of trade flows will be.

4.1.7 *Immigrants as consumers and immigrant remittances*

As mentioned above, one of the channels through which immigrants may impact international trade flows is that they bring preferences for particular products and services with them and thus create demand for their home countries' goods. However, little is known about the volume and patterns of migrants' consumption in general. The Centre for Turkish Studies estimated, based on a survey of Turkish and German households, total consumption volume of Turkish community in Germany to be about 10 billion German Mark in 1992 (Sen 1994). 45,000 Turks

have purchased either a flat or a house in Germany¹⁰. They make up a significant consumer group in the housing, car and stock exchange markets and show more interest in consumer goods than Germans. The study concludes that Turkish households have higher consumption than German households (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1992).

This finding is to some extent in contradiction with a general expectation in the relevant literature that migrants have a much higher savings ratio than natives. It is due to migrants' expectation of their future income to fall if they have a positive probability of returning home, or an assumed higher marginal utility of consumption in their home country. Immigrants remit the bulk of their savings to their families back home. In 2002, migrant remittances reached a total of US\$ 149.4 billion, thus surpassing official development assistance and achieving 83 per cent of global FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) flows in the same year (Straubhaar/Vadean 2004). While the direct financial effect of remittances in industrialized countries, in the form of retained consumption and investments, are negligible, migrants' remittances are expected to have a substantial positive impact on development in the countries receiving remittances. They should boost economic growth, give impulses for local entrepreneurship and improve development prospects in general. If this comes true, remittances might mitigate the migration pressure from poor countries and thus indirectly benefit the industrialized world, although the development-migration nexus is much more complex.¹¹

4.1.8 *Integration, cultural diversity and competitiveness*

For a long time, economic literature on migration restricted immigrants to their economic characteristics. Recent literature, however, focuses more on possible economic benefits and costs accruing from distinctive characteristics and behavioural patterns of immigrants and ethnic groups. Cultural diversity is no longer perceived primarily as a cause for "failed integration", but more as an asset with the potential to increase the competitiveness of an economy. With the ongoing integration of global goods and factors markets, the knowledge of different cultures, languages and foreign countries and regions in general are expected to gain in importance in the future.

Alesina and La Ferrara (2003) mention three different ways in which diversity can affect the economy:

¹⁰ This number should have increased in the meantime. The fifth multi-topic survey by the Centre for Turkish Studies in North Rhine-Westphalia in the year 2003 found that 28 % of the migrant interviewees with a Turkish background had their own property (Goldberg/Sauer 2003: 62). Related to the total number of migrants with a Turkish background in North Rhine-Westphalia, which is stated in the study to be as much as 836,000, this would amount to 234,000 proprietors already.

¹¹ There is a debate over the extent to which remittances actually boost the economy of the receiving country since more of the income has been used for consumption and not on investment. Nevertheless, even if remittances are

- Firstly, diversity may enter directly into individual preferences;
- Secondly, diversity can impact on economic outcomes via its influence on strategies that individuals adopt;
- And finally, diversity may enter the production function.

On balance, economic literature agrees upon the possibility that diversity can enhance productivity, innovation and growth (for effects of different forms of economic diversity see e.g. Jacobs 1969; Romer 1990). However, due to barriers to communication caused by different languages and cultures, there are also the costs of diversity (Lazear 1999, 2000). Literature examining the significance of institutions in this context (e.g. Easterly 2001) suggests that the implementation of the growth-enhancing effects of diversity may require a specific set of rules or legal framework.

Although it is obvious that the overall outcome of immigration depends primarily on the performance and success of individual migrants in labour markets, economic literature has, in the past, paid little attention to the economic and social integration of immigrants. The integration of immigrants into the labour market is of decisive importance for their impact on welfare systems in their host countries. Furthermore, it is also seen both for the immigrants and for the native population as a major prerequisite for social integration. The more rapidly immigrants are integrated occupationally, and the less friction this involves, the more it is to be expected that they will be accepted by the native population, and the sooner the immigrants' economic expectations will be fulfilled (Gieseck et al. 1995).

Recently, concerns about "failed integration" and disappointing performance of second and third generation immigrants drew the attention of research to the determinants and prerequisites of integration. In contrast to U.S. literature, which pays more attention to host country attitudes, especially the existence of discrimination, Hönckopp (2000) and Suntum and Schlotböller (2002) see a poor education and lower qualifications of immigrants to Germany as main reasons for their poor performance in labour markets. This in turn prevents immigrants from a more intensive social integration. Therefore, the authors recommend the improvement of education and qualification levels of immigrants, in particular basic skills, such as their knowledge of German language and culture, as measures enhancing integration.

spent on consumption, the resulting multiplier effect can substantially increase the national product (for an example for Mexico c.f. Ratha 2003).

4.2 Civil Society and the cultural context

4.2.1 *Immigrants and civil society*

We define civil society – as opposed to governmental institutions - as such networks, activities, institutions and organisations that citizens of a society, and thus also immigrants, employ in order to express their will and participate in the life of a political community. In accordance with Gramsci's definition, civil society does also include cultural factors used to exert collective pressure and (potentially) obtain objective results. Civil-society institutions comprise, apart from churches and religious associations, trade unions¹², NGOs, charitable organisations¹³ and associations. Regular surveys have shown that migrants consider self-organisations and trade unions as the most suitable organisations for furthering their interests (Sauer/Goldberg 2001; Goldberg/Sauer 2002). The central question raised here, however, is: In which forms of migrant organisations do migrants impact civil society?¹⁴

The number of migrant organisations and associations is tremendous, the majority of them being organised along national lines. They comprise associations with a religious background, sports associations, socio-cultural organisations and numerous locally operating groups, for example parents' associations with specific aims such as providing educational support and special tuition, organising sporting or cultural events, or simply maintaining local civic centres. As they respond to the needs of immigrants and work towards articulating and furthering their interests, they also fulfil further functions, such as providing a sense of belonging or home to the immigrants and making them feel protected. In Germany, the most conspicuous of these associations are Turkish associations, as Turkish nationals form the largest group of third-country nationals in Germany.

The *religious* associations maintaining religious traditions of the respective countries of origin are predominant among migrant organisations as far as stability, continuity, financial backing and the numbers of members are concerned. Muslim mosque associations constitute the prevailing form of organisation in Germany. As local groups form regional and national associations along national, political and religious lines, they reproduce, at least partly, the religious, political and cultural differences and conflicts of their home countries. Conversely, governments in the countries of origin have been quick to realise that they can further their own interests by providing finances and personnel, and thus influencing the development of Islam in Germany. The huge number of local and umbrella organisations and the lack of representative spokespersons

¹² Since the onset of migration to Germany, trade unions have been dedicated to furthering the interests of non-German labour, resulting in a relatively high non-German membership (cf. chapter 4.3).

¹³ Charitable organisations in Germany hold a certain monopoly on social work for migrants. Intercultural work in social services for migrants is an essential part of their organisational structure.

¹⁴ This paper will not deal with the responses of civil society to migration inflows, i.e. the topic of inter-cultural adaptation of existing structures.

are an obstacle to communication with this group.¹⁵ However, there is also a growing number of organisations trying to overcome the influence of their home countries, in order to establish themselves as German Muslims in German society (Schiffauer 2004).

In 1999, Diehl and Urbahn have published a study on the different forms of social and political participation by migrants, which constitutes the first comprehensive assessment of the increasing significance of non-German self-organisation (the keywords being: parallel societies versus integration motor). One conclusion the authors have drawn is that “migrants who, due to their skills and characteristics, do not, or only to a lesser extent, depend on withdrawing to ethnic enclaves”, tend to prefer associations that are geared towards the society of the receiving country. For immigrants that are socio-economically disadvantaged, on the other hand, organisations geared toward their home countries play an important role. Consequently, the latter are reluctant to join voluntary organisations of the receiving society (Gaitanides 2003). Research has so far been unable to reach a consensus as to whether self-organisation fosters or impedes integration. Furthermore, the impact of self-organisation depends on a range of other factors (the social status and sex of migrants, the structure and function of organisations, to name just a few).

More recent studies have increasingly abandoned this dualistic perspective, emphasising the significance of self-organisations as a civil-societal factor instead (e.g. Thränhardt/Hunger 2000; Jungk 2002). The majority of third-country nationals living in Germany have a secure residence status and have thus obtained equal rights in civil law. As they lack equal political rights, they make increasing use of their civic rights, as shown by the growing number of self-organisations, the founding of umbrella organisations, and the use of organisations to articulate and further the interests of migrants. Political institutions are increasingly aware of these efforts, but on the whole the political impact of these organisations on German society has still to be called minor (Jungk 2000).

4.2.2 *Immigrants in the cultural context: religion, sports, food, media, music, language, literature, film, fashion and fine arts*

In our discussion of the impacts of immigration in the cultural context, we will focus on two aspects: Which structural changes have affected the “cultural landscape”? And what influence has been exerted by immigration on cultural activities of individual members of the receiving society? We have to take into consideration, however, that every description and analysis of these

¹⁵ The claim to representing the interests of Muslims in Germany has been brought forward, beside the Islamic Council for the Federal Republic of Germany / Islamic World Congress (founded in 1986), by the Central Council of Muslims in Germany (founded in 1994).

influences faces the chief obstacle of distinguishing between the impact of migration and the effects of globalisation, especially as migration itself is one aspect of globalisation.

Religion plays a key role in the analysis of immigration in the cultural context: As the range of religious organisations has expanded significantly through immigration, increasing influence on the religious-cultural context can be noted. Christians of various religious denominations have immigrated, with some of them establishing new religious communities and others having - in a less conspicuous manner - joined existing ones.¹⁶ The number and significance of Jewish communities has grown tremendously, due to the significant migration inflows of people of Jewish faith from the former Soviet Union (c.f. chapter 3.1). Eastern religions have also been able to broaden their appeal in Germany.¹⁷

Political and academic debate on the cultural context of migration has so far focused on the Muslim minority though, which nowadays accounts for 3 % of the total population of Germany.¹⁸ Due to the fact that the majority of Muslim migrants have settled down permanently in Germany, members of the Muslim community have been working towards establishing their own institutions and practising their traditional rites in Germany. These efforts include the construction of representative mosques and Muslim cemeteries, the practice of Muslim burial rituals, dress codes, the ritual slaughtering of animals or the introduction of Islamic religious instruction at public schools. Particularly the construction of mosques and cemeteries results in visible changes of German cityscapes: There are no longer just numerous inconspicuous “backyard mosques”, but also representative Mosque complexes. On account of their architecture, size and symbolic significance, such building plans have in almost all cases triggered controversy within local communities (Schmitt 2003). According to figures provided by the German Conference of Bishops for the year 2003, about 75 cemeteries in Germany have established Islamic burial grounds, in response to the increasing number of Muslims opting for burial in Germany (Deutsche Bischofskonferenz 2003: 180).

Sport has also been ascribed major significance for the integration of immigrants. Football in particular is the sport where most contacts between Germans and immigrants occur. Consequently, there have been a large number of academic publications on this topic, in sociology as well as in social work and education. This is the more so as ethnic conflicts triggered by soccer matches have been widely reported by negative headlines. Scientific studies have therefore not confirmed, especially as far as soccer is concerned, the *general* “assumption by society that sports and sporting organisations contribute toward social integration and conflict resolution”

¹⁶ So far, no comprehensive survey of the total number of new religious communities founded by migrants as a whole has been published.

¹⁷ For example, the international homepage www.allaboutsikhs.com has registered eleven Sikh temples in Germany.

¹⁸ According to the German Conference of Bishops, 75 % of the Muslims in Germany are of Turkish origin. Other important countries of origin include, apart from the succession states of the former Yugoslavia, Iran, Morocco, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iraq and Pakistan, to name just the most important other countries of origin.

(Kothy/Klein 2000). Proposals to reduce these tensions include the participation of young migrants in sports clubs of the receiving society. Especially in large cities, many clubs have only been able to maintain their teams and organisational structures by including young migrants. In these cases, sport also fulfils an integrational function for migrant parents, who, through the membership of their offspring, also participate in the community life of these clubs.¹⁹

The German **eating habits** and the **restaurant scene** have fundamentally changed over the last decades: Non-German produce and meals have become an integral part of everyday life for almost everybody. This development becomes obvious, for example, if one surveys the range of articles offered by German supermarkets, the enormous number of more or less “exotic” cooking books in bookstores, or the restaurant recommendations in travelling guides for German cities. The large number of ethnic food stores offering non-German products, above all Turkish greengrocers and the Asia Shop, also draw many customers from the receiving society. According to a survey by the Allensbach-Institut für Demoskopie on the popularity of non-German meals among German restaurant clients, about 50 % of German customers, and even more than 70 % of the under 30-year olds, have stated that they prefer foreign specialities. The prime example is the Turkish Döner, or kebab, which has become the most popular type of fast food in Germany. Since the end of the 1990s, kebabs have become the product with the highest sales figures on the German restaurant market (Institut für Demoskopie 2003).²⁰

In the context of food and restaurants, there are two developments: On the one hand, the range of articles on offer is broadened by immigration, and immigration also leads to the development of an ethnic niche economy (e.g. Turkish kebab takeaways, pizza services, Vietnamese cook shops). On the other hand, the extension of the range of products offered by supermarkets, or the variety of restaurants, has also to be seen as a part of economic and cultural globalisation. Tourism is one of the main factors contributing to this development. Apart from the effects of immigration, there has also been increased marketing of “foreign” products, resulting in ethno and exotic trends.²¹ If it is really justified to talk about a process of mutual convergence of cultures in this context, eating habits is the one area where such a process is actually occurring: It

¹⁹ As soccer is still a predominately male sport, the role of female migrants in sports has long been neglected in academic publications. Few exceptions are studies commissioned by the Ministry for Urban Planning, Culture and Sports of the State of North-Rhine Westphalia (2001, 2004). Migrant girls and women often face the additional difficulty that participation in sports and its integrational benefits can lead to conflicts with their parents.

²⁰ According to a study by ZfT for the year 1997, the total number of Döner takeaways in Germany amounted to 9,300 (ZfT 1998; Seidel-Pielen 1996). The successful integration of kebabs into everyday German life can be seen from the fact that German holiday-makers and “Germany-based Turks” have re-imported a variation of the original kebab to Turkey, which is more to their taste than the original version (ZfT 1998). And: there is also a German-run Döner database on the Internet (www.doener365.de), a survey of Turkish takeaways for the whole of Germany. The site also evaluates takeaways according to their product quality, service, flair music etc.

²¹ A corresponding development has been the trend towards a fashionable, globalised “cross-over” cuisine, which transcends all traditional ethnic borders. This trend has also been taken up by some immigrants: A geographical study of a Cologne district, for example, has shown that restaurant owners increasingly combine different national cuisines, irrespective of their own ethnic origin (Soyez 2004).

is justifiable to say that everyday culture of the German majority has in fact changed lastingly through the influence of non-German food.

Migration and the **media** has been a topic widely elaborated in academic publications. Two aspects appear to be particularly relevant: Immigrants as media consumers and producers, as well as immigrants as topics of reports in the German media. The German media market offers a wide range of products for non-Germans, most of them being mono-lingual and addressing one nationality only. Over fifty non-German newspapers are produced in Germany; among the languages of former “guest workers” the majority of them being published are in Turkish. Additionally, there is a Turkish radio station²² in Berlin. Since the mid 1990s, in response to large migration inflows from immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Russian print media have gained significance. Since 2000, one can also see a trend towards mono- or bilingual “ethno portals” on the internet.²³ This wide range of relatively autonomous, non-German media products exists parallel to the German media, so one could even talk about a parallel media world for a parallel society. Many studies have criticised migrants’ one-sided consumption of media publications in their mother tongue, especially with reference to Turkish migrants. This has been exacerbated by the availability of cable and satellite TV programming. However, surveys have pointed out considerable changes in the media use of second- and third-generation migrants (Dresbach 2002). Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a diversification of media offers, with the development of bilingual print media²⁴. In the radio programmes bi- or multi-lingual multicultural radio programmes have been established²⁵. In addition, there have also been plans for setting up a German-Turkish TV channel. At the same time, German-Turkish film and television companies play a more important role on the German media market (Becker/Behnisch 2002).

Regarding the reporting on migrants in the German media, there have been divergent developments making it impossible to draw general conclusions: Tabloid newspapers in particular often present a distorted, undifferentiated and, in many cases, negative picture of migrants. Media researchers have therefore criticised the lack of normality in reporting (Meier-Braun 2001; Schorb 2003). At the same time, quality newspapers and media have long been sensitized to discrimination issues. Their approach to reporting migration-related topics can be characterised as cautious and, in some cases, marked by political correctness which is taken seriously. Cer

²² Radyo Metropol FM was the first Turkish-language radio station in Germany. It is still extremely popular and has also been broadcast in other federal states of Germany since 2001.

²³ The largest Ethno portal is the Turkish “Vaybee”; others offers address African, Russian, Polish, Greek or Italian immigrants (Jordanova-Duda 2002).

²⁴ Examples are the mainly German-language magazines Hayat, Etap, Türkis, a mixture between a lifestyle and a pop magazine, its target audience being young consumer-oriented German Turks. In 2000, the left-of-centre German-Turkish weekly Persembe followed, which has stopped production in the meantime, and the conservative-religious monthly publication TürkisNews, with only a few contributions in German.

²⁵ The so-called “guest-worker programmes” offered by public television since the 1960s were cancelled in 2002, as their beneficial effect on integration had remained doubtful and, above all, audience shares had been decreasing. Several ARD channels now offer a “multicultural radio”; there are various bilingual (German-Turkish) or multi-lingual channels (e.g. SFB Radio Multikulti) (Gries 2000).

tain images which are bound to reinforce prejudices, for example pictures of women with headscarves, however, are persistently used in all kinds of media, to transmit concepts of foreignness and backwardness.

It is also a fact that migrants as “makers of media”, i.e. journalists, TV presenters or hosts have still not become a normal fact in the German media.²⁶ The only exceptions can be found in the entertainment sector: In pop culture, there is a trend towards exotic artists. Therefore “exotic-looking” (mostly dark-skinned) musicians, dancers and entertainers in soap-operas or entertainment shows have become a regular feature on German television. The consumption of “artificial exotic foreignness” (Terkessidis 2000), however, carries the risk of merely conforming to stereotypes, without actually including the minorities that live in our country. Firmly established in German television programmes, on the other hand, are comedy programmes presented by Turkish TV hosts such as Kaya Yanar (“Was guckst du?” – “What are you looking at?”), Django Asül and the Munich-based double act Erkan and Stefan, who – quite self-confidently- satirize ethnic jokes and German-Turkish stereotypes. This trend can be evaluated as an indicator for more relaxed interethnic relations.

The relationship between **music** and migration in Germany has so far not intensively been researched in Germany. It is impossible to clearly differentiate between the effects of migration and globalisation. It is true that migrants play a major role in ethno and world music, music festivals, classical and jazz music as well as in fashionable music trends such as tango or other South American dancing styles. However, all these developments are not specifically German cultural phenomena or ways of expression for non-German residents of Germany in particular, but rather constitute an aspect of globalisation. However, several young artists with a migration background have in recent years topped the pop music charts in Germany.²⁷ Immigration has also led to a great variety of “imported” music²⁸. Most migrant music, in particular traditional and folk music, are listened to within ethnic communities. Since the 1990s, however, there has been a growing trend towards Turkish pop music in particular leaving its “ethnic niche” and entering the mainstream: The numerous Turkish discotheques and music clubs in large German cities are frequented by a German-Turkish clientele with a Western orientation (Caglar 1998). Similar music establishments have been opened for an African, Polish or Greek clientele. German-Turkish youth culture in large cities, especially Berlin, has spawned an oriental hip-hop and rap scene which has attracted a lot of publicity and has in some cases already been commercial

²⁶ There have been efforts to change this state of affairs: A model scheme developed by the Adolf Grimme Institute entitled “More colourful media” is offering qualification programmes for migrants in order to foster an intercultural opening of the media (Jungk 1999).

²⁷ e.g. Xavier Naidoo, Sabrina Setlur, No Angels.

²⁸ Music imported from migrants’ home countries mostly undergoes further development in the country of immigration (Greve 2003, Schedtler 1999).

ised on a large scale.²⁹ Hip-hop culture, which has its origins in black ghettos in the United States, has globally developed into the preferred form of expression for marginalised groups³⁰, but its lyrics focus on the local context, i.e. the living conditions of young migrants in Germany. Songs are performed in the German, Turkish or English language.

Immigration has also led to a great **variety of languages** in Germany. Foreign languages have become a regular feature, not only in the mass media, but also in everyday life, and also play an increasingly important role in public life.³¹ However, there is no evidence for loanwords from migrant languages being adopted by native German speakers. This can be explained by the fact that the borrowing of foreign vocabulary is an issue involving questions of prestige and power, so that loanwords tend to be borrowed from languages that are considered to be culturally prestigious: The languages of immigrants to Germany, above all the Turkish language, however, have gained only little appreciation, so their influence on the cultural life is only marginal. But German-Turkish youth culture has developed its own creative approach to the German language: In the 1990s, "*Kanakisch*" a satirized and intentionally deficient version of "*Türkendeutsch*" or Turkish-German developed into a new language culture, with a strong impact on German entertainment media.³² The term "Kanak Sprak" was coined by the Turkish-German author Feridun Zaimoglu in his book of the same title (1995). Originally, "Kanake" had been used as a swearword meaning "foreigner", but it was adopted irrespective of political correctness. This Turkish-German linguistic mixture has become a symbol for a new socio-cultural identity of a group comprising both native and migrant youngsters (Kallmeyer/Keim 2003; Schmidt-Fink 2002).

Literary studies have discussed the topic of "migration and **literature**" under the heading "intercultural literature", but the number of academic studies has so far been limited. The earlier genre of "guest worker literature" has been renamed into "migrant literature". It includes both migrant authors and works of literature dealing with migration as their central topic.³³ Numerous authors of non-German origin have become quite successful on the German literary scene, with most of them writing in both their mother tongue and the German language (Chiellino 2000). It is true that many of these literary works deal with, of course not exclusively, migration experiences, issues of foreignness and the relationship to authors' home countries. In the 1990s, a

²⁹ Some of the better-known bands are, among others, Aziza A., Cartel, Islamic Force, Sons of Gastarbeita, Kanacks with Brain and Kool Savas.

³⁰ There are some striking similarities to American pop culture. German-Turkish rappers, for example, often call themselves "the blacks of Germany" or even "German niggers from the ghetto".

³¹ For example, foreign-language explanations in administration buildings, public transport and instruction leaflets have become standard practice.

³² Comedy stars like Erkan and Stefan or Dragan and Alder satirise the linguistic and personal inadequacies of a young migrant.

³³ Both defining criteria, however, should be treated with care: authors are often automatically categorised as "exotic writers" only because of their biographical background, a further expectation being that their subject matter is bound to be the situation of migration.

new remarkable phenomenon developed, the “Kanak Attack” movement, a new polemic style of literary pop, which stands in clear opposition to earlier forms of so-called “cause-for-concern literature” and “garbage-collector prose”. The most formative author is Feridun Zaimoglu. His idiosyncratic mixture of street slang and poetry which he uses to describe the life of disadvantaged groups in German society, and his scathing comments on the German migration debate and on migrants themselves, have made his work very popular with German intellectuals and feature writers. The German-Turkish hip-hop scene, *Kanak Sprak* and *Kanak Attack*, cultivate the self-confident and provocative rhetoric of disadvantaged groups (“We are the niggers of Germany”), thus creating a sense of identity for a sub-culture of youngsters of non-German origin, irrespective of their ethnic roots. New competition to the numerically dominating Turkish-German cultural products has been created by authors of Russian origin since the late 1990s, namely by the author Wladimir Kaminer. He became popular as the organiser of the event “*Russendisko*” and because of his book, a collection of stories, by the same name. He became one of the most popular young authors in Germany, publishing a number of books in German.

In German **film**, migrants had for a long time been restricted to the “role of victim”. “*Angst essen Seele auf*” (“Fear of fear”) by Rainer Werner Fassbinder in 1974 being one of the prime examples. Popular films like “*Yasemin*” (1988), by Hark Bohm, or “*40 Quadratmeter Deutschland*” (“40 square metres of Germany”; 1985), by Tevfik Baser, have focused on the oppression of migrant women in Germany. Many films have dealt with migration as transition or the living conditions in migrants’ home countries. “*Kurz und schmerzlos*” (1998), by Fatih Akin, was the front-runner of a new wave of films by young Turkish directors living in Germany. “*Lola and Bilidikid*” (1999), by Kutlug Ataman, was the first internationally successful migrant film which transcended national stereotypes. These new films share some common features, as the story is mostly situated in large German cities, they often include a Turkish background and focus on everyday aspects of people living in between two or even several cultures in Germany. So at least the Turkish-German film seems to be established. A highlight of its commercial success has been the “Golden Bear” award of the Berlinale-Festival 2004 for Fatih Akin’s film “*Gegen die Wand*” (“Against the Wall”) - a final proof that films by migrants have become a regular feature of German film culture and have the potential to attract a wide German audience.

Concerning the topic immigration and **fashion**, two aspects have to be considered: It is true that in large cities, above all in Berlin, several fashion designers with a migration background have been able to establish themselves, however, most of them are only well-known locally. One can therefore not state that they have an impact on national German culture. The decisive impact on fashion is rather exerted by mass consumption, and here globalised fashion trends and international corporations are the predominant players. The other aspect concerns the fashion preferences of migrant youngsters and their potential impact on majority society. Among young people fashion constitutes an important means of communication and support for orientation. The

so-called “street wear”, for example, is very popular among young migrants. Hieronymus (2001) has shown in his international comparative study that “youngsters with a migration background, especially if they are defined as being excluded from belonging to the society they live in (...), tend to search for other ways of obtaining access to society, for example by adopting certain symbols of mainstream culture such as ‘fitness’ or ‘brand-name clothing’”. Therefore fashion is not so much a way for migrants to express their own ethnic identity, but is rather used, especially by young people, to provide proof of their belonging. In **fine arts**, the quality of an artist’s work is to be evaluated internationally, and not to be restricted to national German culture. In the German modern fine arts migrants are represented, but are not standing out.

The cultural landscape in Germany has become more diverse through immigration. Migrants are present in all kinds of cultural sectors. Even in the German carnival, once considered a typical example of German culture, migrants do now play a role.³⁴ In addition, the Berlin “Carnival of Cultures” is now regularly carried out, where numerous migrant groups participate (Frei 2003).

³⁴ They participate, ranging from the carnival princes of Turkish origin, dancers from different nations, carnival floats using Turkish symbols such as the carnival figure *Karagöz* (Emmendorfer-Brößler 1999).

4.3 The political context

The following section deals with the impact exerted by the emergence of migrants³⁵ in various political institutions and organisations in Germany. In general it can be stated that this subject has not been systematically researched to date. For that reason, it will first be investigated which structural conditions were the reason for the fact that political organisations have only sporadically been in the focus of scientific research. This will be followed by a presentation of research results with regard to the different organisations: findings on the impact of migration on local administrations, trade unions and political parties. The findings on the degree and the orientation of forms of political participation, which will be presented afterwards, always result in a critical scrutiny of the existing participation model, in the development of alternative models and in political demands. Some of these drafts shall be introduced at the end of this section.

Over the past few years, the political discourse on migration and migrants in Germany has been dominated by the assumption that the debate on immigration to the Federal Republic of Germany has undergone a change (Angenendt/Kruse 2003; Schmalz-Jacobsen 2001). The reasons given for this are the reform of the Nationality Act as of January 1, 2000 and the introduction of the new Green Card Regulation, which was announced by German Chancellor Schröder on March 3, 2000 and took effect on August 1, 2000 (Hunger 2003), as well as the draft of an Immigration Law introduced by Interior Minister Schily in 2001, which was passed in 2004. The whole political and academic debate on migration policy has been shaped by the long drawn-out reform process, as well as the persistent self-presentation, revived by the Immigration Law, of Germany as a non-immigration country (Bade/Bommes 2000). It is in this context that the integration and assimilation of migrants and relevant political decisions in this process became the main focal point of research and political discourse. Here, in particular "the willingness or reluctance, ability or inability of migrants to become integrated..." (Bade/Bommes 2004: 12) and possible social and legal obstacles to this end became the main interest of studies.

The discourse on the conditions for the political participation of migrants in Germany is shaped by a lack of political integration (due to restrictive naturalization policies and the lack of the right to vote for foreign residents).³⁶ To a large extent, political organisations such as trade unions and even political parties, and the changes that they have undergone through the participation of migrants, were mostly not included in such studies. There is empirical evidence that migration and migrants have had an impact on political institutions and organisations, which has been proven for local and regional governments and administrations as well as trade unions. How

³⁵ Generally it should be noted that the literature often does not differentiate between migrants as foreign citizens and migrants who have acquired German citizenship. As a rule, the term "migrant" refers to former work migrants, i.e. both to citizens of third states with permanent resident status, as well as EU migrants. The reason for this lack of differentiation lies in the attempts of many researchers to avoid the term "foreigner", but also in the fact that data surveys no longer differentiate between German citizens and naturalized residents.

³⁶ Since 1992 EU nationals have had the right to vote in local elections in Germany.

ever, while the influence of migrants and the growth of migrant-specific structures are observable in political parties, there are no studies to support this. In more recent research the political attitudes of migrants and their organisation in associations are studied.

Public Administrations: In recent years, the administration of migration has increasingly been focused on by research (Oltmer 2003). Changes of administrative structures, which are subsumed under the term “intercultural opening”, are indeed an issue at expert conferences organised by political foundations, such as the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, or the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, but have only sporadically been the subject of systematic research (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2002; Lima Curvello/Pelkhofer-Stamm 2003). Bommers (2003) and Koch (2002) examined to what extent migration and the arrival of migrants gives rise to sociostructural changes. In an exemplary comparative empirical study the authors examine two local governments and the changes that took place in political administration after the arrival of migrants in those communities. Bommers (2003) demonstrates that while organisational changes do take place under the influence of migration, these are highly dependent in terms of quality as well as quantity on existent internal organisational structures (with regard to jobs, personnel, political parties, constitutional laws, programmes). The problem definitions and decisions, e.g. on how particular measures should be funded and in what way certain migrant groups are actually defined as a problem, developed out of the interplay between the existing structures. Responses to questions as to the definition of migrants as foreigners or native residents and which measures are then pursued for dealing with them, differs greatly within the individual communities. The assessment of migration depends on the observations and accounts of the organisations. In this context, some cities have established specialised offices within the administration, such as the Amt für Multikulturelle Angelegenheiten (Office for Multicultural Affairs) in Frankfurt.

Research on the effects of advisory councils for foreigners (*Ausländerbeiräte*) on local administrations was mainly carried out in studies during the 1980s and 1990s and sufficient empirical evidence has been generated (Bommers 1992; Hoffmann 1986 and 1989; Koch 2002). The studies showed that they influence local migration policy and play a role in recording and processing social and cultural integration problems. These forms of migrant participation are meanwhile legally anchored in individual German federal states (Ministerium für Arbeit, Soziales und Stadtentwicklung NRW 1998). Although these organisations continue to be controversially assessed with regard to their efficiency, they usually only then attract public attention, if their legitimisation is questioned as a consequence of decreasing voter participation.

Trade unions: There are a number of various studies on the political participation of migrants and the impact of immigration flows on trade unions, however, hardly any recent ones (Diehl/Urbahn 1999; Kühne/Öztürk/West 1994; Østergard-Nielsen 2003; Treichler 1998). The participation of non-German employees in trade unions is based on the existing regulations of

social statutes and tariff regulations – which had been enforced by the trade unions – and the so-called primacy of nationals (*Inländerprimat*) in accordance with the Code of Social Law (Bade/Bommes 2000). For that reason the issue dealt with by the trade unions is not so much the problem of legal discrimination resulting from the foreign nationality, rather than structural discrimination (e.g. by lacking career opportunities) and xenophobia at the work place. Already in the 1980s and the early 1990s, these issues have been the focus of initiatives by the trade unions and have already sporadically been studied in research (Dohse 1981; Öztürk 1994). The trade unions initiated campaigns against xenophobia, dealt with this topic in further education and formulated official policy statements on German immigration and integration policy (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund 1994; 1996; Klose 1994; Treichler 1994). Since 2000 the significance of the issue of immigration within trade unions appears to have slackened off though (Treichler 2004). Looking at current publications by trade unions it becomes apparent that discrimination at the work place is still an issue nowadays, but that the discussion rather focuses on the status of foreign employees and workers within the hierarchy of the companies and the trade unions.³⁷ In the merged service trade union *ver.di*, for example, the introduction of so-called “groups of persons” of foreign employees is called for, which would assign them special rights and which so far had only been institutionalised in the IG Metall.

Empirical data on the impact of migrants on German trade unions is particularly available for the IG Metall. The process of institutional changes for this individual trade union can be traced back as far as the 1960s (Hinken 2003; Østergard-Nielsen 2003; Öztürk 2002): As early as 1968, a special “foreign employees/migrant workers unit” was set up, and in 1983 the special status group mentioned above was established, which was unique for individual trade unions at the time (Østergard-Nielsen 2003; Öztürk 2002). The right of foreign workers to stand for election, which was introduced in the DGB (German Confederation of Trade Unions) in 1972, did not, however, lead to any significant advancement for migrants in trade union hierarchies, although their degree of organisation is high, amounting to 54 % in the IG Metall in 2000, for example: the inclusion of migrants still declines as the authority of the respective committees increases. While the percentage of foreign shop stewards in the IG Metall was 10 % in the late 1990s, it was only 5 % regarding foreign works council members and 4.5 % for members of decision-making bodies and union management committees, and regarding union secretaries it dropped as low as 2 %. As Öztürk (2002) shows migrant employees are better organised, but more poorly represented than German employees (Diehl/Urbahn 1999). Evidence of the impact of migrants on the political agenda of trade unions is provided by Østergard-Nielsen (2003) for the 1980s. She shows that at that time there were repeated complaints about conflicts within the union committees over political affairs in the countries of origin of migrant workers. In this respect trade union politics were indeed affected by such debates, according to Østergard-

³⁷ See e.g. www.igmetall.de/pressedienst/2003/006.html; www.igbce.de; www.migration-online.de.

Nielsen. Demands, for example, that were made to the German government with regard to its domestic and foreign policies, were influenced by these topics.

Political parties: The influence of migrants within German political parties is hardly documented at all. Data on the nationalities of their members is not published by the political parties. Thränhardt (2003) outlines the changes of the migration-political agenda as well as the development of xenophobia within individual political parties. Although within the parties themselves occasional changes - such as the establishment of migrant committees - can be observed, these have not yet been sufficiently analysed. Various individual organisations with clear political leanings have been established. The Deutsch-Türkische Union (DTU) in Berlin and the Deutsch-Türkisches Forum (DTF) in North-Rhine Westphalia are affiliated to the centre-right CDU, for instance. The HDF (Sosyaldemocratic Halk Dernekleri Ferasyonu) is oriented towards the social democratic SPD and is an organisation of Turkish Social Democrats concerned with political issues in their country of origin. Østergard-Nielsen (2003) emphasizes the influence of Turkish Social Democrats on the policies of the SPD, in particular with respect to the Turkish-Kurdish conflict of the 1990s. Also Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (The Green Party) have the immigrant association "Immigrün". In the liberal democratic FDP, the Liberale Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung (LTD) exists. In addition, more naturalized migrants stand for election on the lists of all political parties meanwhile.

Political orientations of migrants: Data on the political tendencies of immigrants shows that in the year 2000 32.2 % of foreigners in Germany favoured the SPD, as compared to 8.5 % for both the CDU and the Greens respectively and 1.7 % for the FDP (Marplan 2000, see also Diehl/Urbahn 1999). A look at the group of recently naturalized migrants, however, that – unlike the category of "foreigners" – also comprises repatriated ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, reveals a different picture though (Wüst 2002): The majority of former repatriates favours the Union parties (CDU/CSU), while the majority of residents of Turkish origin support the SPD. Extreme right-wing parties were not favoured by any of the groups, however. The reasons for this, according to Wüst, were seen to be on the one hand religious, and on the other the social origin of the naturalized residents. Altogether, however, sociodemographic factors proved to be an insufficient explanation. Rather, a correlation was found between political tendencies and specific groups of countries, although this weakened as the degree of integration increased. Issues relevant to naturalized persons were found to be comparable with those of German nationals: unemployment, taxes or pensions. The relevance given to migration-specific issues by naturalized residents only differed marginally to that of Germans. Nevertheless, Wüst reaches the conclusion that the Nationality Act has brought with it a new group of voters which due to its size could sway election results (Castles/Miller 2003; Hunger 2001; Thränhardt 2003; Wüst 2002). It should be noted, however, that in sum the electoral behaviour of naturalized residents does not significantly vary from that of native Germans.

Political participation of migrants in self-organisations and associations: Political participation of migrants does also take place in so-called self-organisations, which have meanwhile become an important factor of civil society. Data on such organisations is available for some federal states (Fijalkowski/Gillmeister 1997; Ministerium für Arbeit, Soziales und Stadtentwicklung NRW 1998). Their significance and their impact on civil society have not as yet been sufficiently investigated though. The emergence of diverse migrant organisations can be understood as a consequence of the legal and cultural differentiation between individual migrants and between migrant groups in Germany (Ergi 2000; Özcan 1989). Compared to the more traditional participatory structures such as migrant councils, this form of political organisation is gaining significance. Just how differentiated individual forms of participation of migrants can be is demonstrated by Diehl (2002) in her study of Turkish associations. She distinguishes between associations oriented to their host country and those oriented to their country of origin (Diehl 2002; Ministerium für Arbeit, Soziales und Stadtentwicklung NRW 1998). Diehl examines political participation under the premise of assimilation theory and reveals segregation and re-ethnisation tendencies within Turkish political associations. Associations oriented towards their country of origin are predominantly left-wing or nationalist parties such as the PKK (Diehl/Urbahn 1999). In more recent years, however, religious associations with political tendencies, and especially Islamic associations of Turkish immigrants, have gained in importance (Heitmeyer/Müller/Schröder 1997). Evaluations on the extent to which the quality of political participation in the receiving country and legal integration affect relations of migrants to their host country and their country of origin, are therefore highly ambivalent in research and dependent on the respective theoretical background of the researchers.

The development of new membership structures through migration: The presence of migrants in organisations, or more generally on national territories of receiving countries, leads to structural changes that vary in their intensity according to the already existing circumstances. A crucial factor here is the legal structure that regulates the residential status of migrants, which in the German case is the Aliens Act and the Nationality Act (*Ausländer- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz*) (Koopmanns/Statham 1999; Koopmanns 2004). These laws determine whether and in what form political participation is at all possible and what topics are placed on the agenda of migrant groups and enter the public discourse. At the same time, they also determine the significance of those groups – whether they are perceived as potential voter groups or as groups of non-voters with relatively few influence. Accordingly, the migration-political discourse in Germany was shaped by the fact of lacking political and legal integration for many years (restrictive naturalization law and no right to vote for foreigners) (Decker 1982; Bade 1994). The discourse focused on the political integration of immigrants and, at the same time, has led to a discussion on changed forms of membership in the national states (Prümm 2004). As one example the model of the so-called denizen can be mentioned here (Hammar 1994), a relatively

privileged immigrant whose presence seems to stabilize particularly in welfare states under restrictive naturalization conditions. For this, statistical evidence can be found in Germany. Although Germany's Nationality Act is very restrictive with regard to multiple citizenships, it can be assumed that dual citizenship is on the increase in Germany, too (Faist et al. 2004). The concept of transnational spaces (Faist 2000a) emphasizes the new kinds of links between states and individuals arising out of modern means of transport and new communications technologies. These new possibilities result in new, "transnational" forms of participation, multiple identities and multiple national belongings. As opposed to established migration theories (Esser 1980; Esser 2004), more recent migration research identifies new types of integration on the basis of changing concepts of political membership and identities which can be seen as impacts of immigration on the receiving society, and in this case Germany (Atilgan 2002, Faist 2000b, Faist et al. 2004; Kleger 1997; Pries 2000). The authors emphasize the significance of the establishment of dual citizenship in order to ensure the right to political inclusion or as a citizen in future, whereas other authors have questioned the relevance of citizenship in the last years (Prümm 2004; Soysal 1994³⁸). But irrespective of the question as to which significance is attributed to citizenship as political membership by individuals, which will surely continue to decrease when rights of non-members (foreigners) increase: the presence of a growing number of non-members and therefore non-voters in political collectives will result in a conflicting field for the democratic legitimisation of these collectives in the long run. For that reason, naturalization policies and the discussion of multiple citizenships will continue to be on the migration-political agenda in Germany.

³⁸ Soysal analyses existing possibilities of participation in an international comparative perspective, which includes the German case among others, and establishes that rights and duties that are not nationality-bound (like social and political rights) are internationally on the increase. The fact that the political participation of foreign residents is possible in the receiving country without having that citizenship shows that in the modern nation-states of the post-war era new forms of "postnational" membership have already evolved.

5 Overview of the structural determining factors of immigration: Provision of support and restrictions

Provisions of support and restrictions reflect the willingness of the receiving society towards accepting immigration and thus determine the integration success of immigrants in a society. The impact of immigration on a society depends on the general understanding of the topic migration in the receiving society and the respective integration policy. Language skills, education and employment play a decisive role for the integration of immigrants. Access to the education system and the qualification sector as well as access on the labour market has far-reaching consequences for the living and housing conditions. In addition, the extent of legal equality and the possibilities for political participation are important factors for the integration of immigrants. The situation of foreigners in the various dimensions of integration can only be captured in parts, though: foreigners who have naturalized and are now German citizens, are registered as Germans in the official statistics. For that reason, the integration situation of immigrants might sometimes be assessed too negatively (Salentin/Wilkening 2003). In order to make a more differentiated assessment of the integration situation possible, studies are required which compare naturalized and non-naturalized migrants.

5.1 Phases of integration policy

The German integration policy was characterised by a „laissez-faire-approach“ for many years. When the recruitment of the first foreign employees started in 1955, it was assumed that they would return to their countries of origin after they have completed their working contract. Immigration was considered a temporary phenomenon, and as a consequence a comprehensive integration policy was not deemed necessary. Individual efforts to enhance the integration of immigrants in German society were shaped according to the legal status of the immigrants when they entered the country and were supported by the government to a differing extent. Recent research shows that the government has not turned a blind eye to the social problems in this area (Sonnenberger 2003). The integration of ethnic German migrants coming from Eastern Europe (German repatriates) was fostered, among others, by the provision of language courses and counselling services. Only after the fall of the “Iron Curtain” and a strongly increasing influx, the government was forced to restrict the assistance for persons of ethnic German origin.

After the recruitment of foreign labour was terminated by the Federal Government, following recession and oil crises in 1973, it pursued a policy of “consolidation of the employment of foreigners”. The objective was, on the one hand, to encourage foreign employees to return to their home countries and, on the other hand, enhancing integration of migrants who lived in Germany together with their family dependents (Motte 1999). Although a considerable number of “guest workers” returned to their home countries, the non-German population continued to increase as

a consequence of family reunions (Heckmann 2003). In the late 1970s the number of immigrant children in schools grew significantly. This marked a serious challenge to Germany's integration policy: Teachers were confronted with the language difficulties and estrangement effects of the "second generation". Additionally, manifold problems regarding inter-ethnic relations became apparent. Immigration was for the first time considered to be a political and social problem. In 1978 Heinz Kühn, former prime minister of the federal state North Rhine-Westphalia, was nominated the first Federal Commissioner for Foreigners of Germany. His memorandum ("*Kühn-Memorandum*"), published in 1979, conveys an early insight in the difficulties of a country not officially acknowledging the de-facto immigration situation. The memorandum pointed out the need for integration measures particularly for second generation youth growing up in Germany. However, very few of Kühn's recommendations were put into practice in the following years (Geiß 2001). In that sense, the 1980s have been described as a "lost decade" for integration efforts. Until the passing of the Foreigners Law in 1990, the policy towards immigrant workers can be understood as an unspectacular, politically unintentional, but gradually implemented practice of integration for foreigners, which was put into practice wherever it seemed necessary (Bommes et al. 1999).

The integration policy of the past decades was characterised by a pragmatic and piecemeal approach: The recruitment of „guest workers“ and the ensuing family reunion led to a number of measures designed to provide social support, counselling and access to welfare state institutions. However, integration policy lacked a comprehensive approach towards an immigrant population eventually staying for good. Deficits became most apparent in the fields of education, employment and political participation. "*Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*" (Germany is not a country of immigration) was the long prevailing opinion (Heckmann 2003; Meier-Braun 2002: 30-92; Bade 1994), which blocked the opportunities for an early and lasting integration policy.

The lack of a comprehensive integration policy has led to a situation in which - compared to Germans - immigrants find themselves at a structural disadvantage, which impedes their integration in the various spheres of society. Yet, with the change of government in 1998, the position on issues of migration and integration has thoroughly altered, such as the reform of the Nationality Act in 2000, which made it easier for foreigners of the second generation, who were born or raised in Germany, to naturalize (cf. chapter 3.2). The report "Structuring Immigration – Fostering Integration" by the Independent Commission "Immigration" which was published in July 2001, contributed significantly to the public discourse on migration and integration issues. The passing of the Immigration Law in July 2004 is an important result of this debate and a major step towards the future, as Germany is officially beginning to consider itself a country of immigration. Simultaneously, the integration of immigrants is defined as a political objective for the first time. The Immigration Law contains mandatory integration courses for immigrants newly

arriving in Germany. The integration courses consist of a language course where language training is provided, and of an orientation course in which basic knowledge on Germany's legal system, history and culture is to be conveyed. For long-term foreign residents the participation can be mandatory, under certain circumstances, but they can also attend the courses voluntarily. For initiating and accompanying the integration process, initial migration counselling services have been established.

5.2 Access to citizenship

Until January 2000, immigrants faced rather high obstacles if they wanted to obtain German citizenship, even though the new Foreigners Law of 1990 provided improved possibilities for the naturalisation of young migrants and „guest workers“, who had come to Germany between 1955 and 1973 (Böcker/Thränhardt 2003). This model of citizenship relied on the principle of *ius sanguinis*, meaning descent. As a result immigrants had only limited (or protracted) access to German citizenship, even though many of them had lived in Germany for decades. In contrast, ethnic Germans automatically obtained a German passport after arrival. Nevertheless, considerable numbers of immigrants have obtained German citizenship over time. Especially among nationals of non-EU Member States naturalisation rates increased considerably during the 1990s. Today almost every fourth immigrant with Turkish background, for example, has German citizenship (Salentin/Wilkening 2003).

With the reform of the Nationality Act entering legal force on January 1, 2000, children born in Germany to long-term foreign residents automatically obtain the German citizenship in addition to their citizenship by descent. At the age of 18 - 23 however, they must opt for one citizenship (according to the option model). Immigrants living in Germany for more than eight years have an entitlement to apply for naturalisation, if they fulfil certain prerequisites: They have to prove sufficient knowledge of the German language, hold a residence permit, commit themselves to the liberal democratic basic order, sign a written pledge to the German constitution and have to be able to earn their livelihood without government welfare. They may not pursue nor have pursued any subversive activities against the constitutional order, nor have previous convictions, and they have to renounce their previous nationality.

5.3 Labour market and employment

Despite the recruitment ban of „guest workers“ in 1973 it became evident in the following years, however, that in spite of growing unemployment in some sectors of the labour market, there was a need for foreign employees in others. This resulted in a series of regulations for exceptions from the recruitment ban. In 1991 these were put down in the so called ASAV - the „Anwerbestoppausnahmereverordnung“, which caused a shift in the official gates of entry for ex

plicitely defined groups of immigrants and enabled non-EU citizens to take up employment in Germany (some of them seasonal). The ASAV did hardly open up channels for the recruitment of highly qualified immigrants though. The Green Card initiative in 2000 highlighted again the fundamental need for improved regulations in this area, however.

With the new Immigration Law of July 2004 terms of admission and residence for highly qualified immigrants are facilitated, while the general recruitment stop is maintained. The previous dual approval procedure for work and residence permits was replaced by new administrative proceedings. Now, the foreigners department is to issue the work permit (after consulting the labour administration for internal approval) together with the residence permit in a single act (one-stop-government). A work permit may be issued when there is a public interest in an individual taking up employment. Nationals of the new European Union Member States have a priority access to the labour market for qualified employment over nationals of third countries for employment in the qualified sector. The immigration law provides the possibility of an (unlimited) settlement permit for highly qualified persons. Their family members can also be entitled to take up employment. Also the access for foreign entrepreneurs has been facilitated under certain conditions: self-employed persons are to receive a (limited) residence permit or (unlimited) settlement permit if they invest at least 1 million euros and create 10 jobs or more. Furthermore, the Immigration Law offers foreign students the possibility to stay in Germany for a limited period and search a job after completion of their studies. All in all, a cautious opening of the German labour market for highly qualified immigrants can be observed.

On the average, immigrants have a lower level of formal education than non-immigrants today (Loeffelholz 2002). They therefore work in less attractive labour market positions, characterised by lower wages, unfavourable working conditions and higher probabilities of job-loss. Unemployment rates for foreign labour have been significantly above the German average ever since the early 1970s. Labour migration to Germany may be distinguished from the experiences of other OECD countries in at least two ways (Pries 2003):

- The industrial sector traditionally employed more than half of the total workforce. “Guest workers” were almost exclusively recruited for jobs in that sector, with few prerequisites concerning qualification. The increasing polarisation between the situation of Germans and foreigners on the labour market reflects the unfavourable starting position of immigrants. The industrial sectors with manual and often semi-qualified work (such as mining, steel or the automobile industry) went through a difficult restructuring process, leaving former „guest workers“ in an precarious situation, as they were least of all able to compensate job loss through education, vocational qualification and mobility.³⁹

³⁹ On the current distribution of workers and employees across the various sectors see chapter 4.1.3.

- The German vocational training system defines a clear segmentation line for income and working conditions which hinders immigrants who are no *Facharbeiter* or whose *Facharbeiter* certificate is not accepted, from moving upwards to qualified work; this is an obstacle that blocked upward occupational mobility especially for first generation immigrants. More recent studies on the occupational upward mobility show, however, that migrants from the second and third generation have often improved their position on the labour market.

5.4 Education and qualification

During the last thirty years, educational standards of second and third generation immigrants have indeed approached the level of German children, but have not reached it yet (Hunger/Thränhardt 2004; Gogolin 2000). This is insofar of importance as the social and cultural integration – mainly conveyed by language skills and educational achievement - are basic pre-conditions for structural integration. The German education system essentially features the following particularities:

- Integration and segregation tendencies begin at pre-school age already. It has often been argued that a very low Kindergarten attendance rate within the group of foreign children translates into limited chances in the education system, as basic educational skills are transmitted in Kindergarten. This is not generally true today, as Kindergarten attendance among foreign children is not that much lower than among German children (Beauftragte 2002). Anyhow, the limited access to pre-school education and the involved curtailing of educational opportunities for immigrant children continues to play a role.
- Migrant children who are not attending the Kindergarten in Germany may experience their first intensive contact with the host society at the age of six or seven when entering primary school. This is contrary to other countries, such as France for example, where the public and laicistic pre-school system begins compensating for language and basic value differences at the age of three or four. The results of the PISA Survey (Program for International Student Assessment) have to be explained in part with these facts in mind. The children's lack of language skills (both mother tongue and German) is the outcome of these pre- and primary school disadvantages (Radtke 2004; Prenzel et al. 2004).
- A second particularity of the German education system is its internal segmentation into three different pillars (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gymnasium*, with only the latter enabling the student to attend university). This segmentation already starts at the age of ten. The barriers to changing to a higher school type afterwards are quite high, due to the insufficient penetrability between the school types. This system cements language and other relevant skill deficits of children with a migration background, with the majority remaining mainly at the level of *Hauptschule*.

- A third characteristic of the German education system is the vocational training. As training opportunities in the dual education system depend on school qualifications, the disadvantages that immigrant households' children accumulate since pre-school time become even more acute. However, the system is successful for those immigrant youth succeeding to secure a trainee post, as a completed qualification training is a central prerequisite for qualified employment. The dual education system plays an important role in explaining the rather low unemployment rate of youth in Germany in comparison with other EU-Member States (Crul/Vermeulen 2003: 977).

5.5 Housing and segregation

When studying the processes of integration, the housing conditions and the local environment are decisive elements. The housing conditions of immigrants are – compared to Germans - not favourable. One important influence may be seen in the lower income levels of immigrants compared to Germans, which reduce options immigrant households have on the housing market. Studies reveal that, although housing conditions for minorities have improved, only in a few instances has the housing quality gap between Germans and persons of foreign origin narrowed (Drever/Clark 2002). Nevertheless, the situation as a whole has improved for the second generation and migrant groups with a longer residence increasingly acquire properties of their own (cf. chapter 4.1.7).

Housing and urban policies have always combated segregation as a factor of social inequality. Segregation is the projection of social structure. It describes the empirical fact that social groups concentrate in certain areas and at certain times. Social and spatial segregation is considered a serious problem for municipalities. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods preferably develop in non-renovated old inner-city housing, in public housing estates and in industrial outskirts of cities, where the coincidence of social inequality, ethnic differences, and spatial isolation generates a complex of effects of disadvantage. This co-occurrence of social and ethnic differences in combination with spatial concentration has made segregation a highly controversial political issue: Living in an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood may have a positive or negative impact on the integration process (Häußermann/Siebel 2001; Salentin 2004). In Germany, there is a fierce debate among politicians and in academia as to whether ethnic “parallel societies” have emerged in segregated city districts. In an international comparison, however, the degree of ethnic segregation in Germany can be considered low.

6 Conclusions

In Germany, all areas of migration and integration policy display, to a greater or lesser extent, knowledge deficits. As a consequence of the political attitude that Germany did not consider itself an immigration country until very recently, the interest in steadily improving the knowledge gained and in informative data has been very little.

The gaps in research and the poor situation regarding the data available has been criticised in Germany for quite a long time. The Independent Commission "Immigration" recommended in their report published in 2001 that, among others, the various statistics on migration should be improved, that new informative characteristics should be included in official surveys (especially information on the origin of persons interviewed), and that scientific backing-up research should be established. This was expressly emphasized again in the annual expertise 2004 of the Experts Council for Immigration and Integration.

For carrying out comprehensive research in the areas of social science and economics, statistical data is required that offers the possibility of making causal and development analyses of immigration and integration processes and their resulting effects. For an empirical analysis of the situation of migration and integration not only a statistically differentiated registration of immigrants is required, but also detailed and extended statistics on migration flows. National migration statistics do only generate significant findings if they are compared on an international level. To date, migration statistics in Germany and also in other EU Member States have mainly been based on a national level and, in only rare cases, have been orientated towards international comparability. National differences in the definitions of various categories of immigrants as well as the quality of data still result in the fact that in many cases direct comparisons of the figures are not possible at all or are very restricted.

It is particularly important to assess the acceptance and integration capacities by use of a system of indicators. Such a system requires reliable empirical findings. To realise this, a detailed and scientifically well-founded social reporting system on migration and integration has to be established. In addition, precisely defined objectives have to be formulated and indicators will have to be identified that reflect the relevant objectives - even if it is difficult to operationalise them. For this purpose, those indicators will have to be identified which are reasonable from the scientific viewpoint as well as especially necessary from the political viewpoint, e.g. for labour market- and education-related issues of immigration. An increasingly important field of scientific research of migration and integration is also evaluation research. Accompanying studies on the effects of integration measures are indispensable for a comprehensive integration policy. Only with their assistance reliable statements on the acceptance and integration capacities of a country can be made. For the area of controlling migration flows, the government has already reacted and has established a department for accompanying research at the Federal Office for

Migration and Refugees (BAMF). In accordance with § 75 art. 4 Residence Act, the BAMF has the task of carrying out scientific research on migration issues (accompanying research) in order to generate analytical results to support the control of migration flows.

In sum, it can be said that deficits in research and in the availability of data do not only affect those research areas directly relevant to the political control of immigration and the meeting of challenges inherent to integration. Problems in data technology and deficits in contents rather affect migration and integration research as a whole. What is therefore needed is differentiated, interdisciplinary-oriented research, which is also institutionally anchored and supported.

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